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DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT: TOURISM IN THE POST PLANTATION SOCIETY OF MONTSERRAT, WEST INDIES

by

(C) PIETER J. DE VRIES

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the social and economic consequences of tourism in Montserrat, West Indies. Tourism is conceptualized as a quasi-staple, whose expansion in an underdeveloped country tends to reproduce external dependence and internal distortion. These distortions occur in the economic structure, as well as in the structure of social life, and form obstacles to transformation.

The socio-economic history of Montserrat reveals cycles of expansion and decline of the traditional staple economy. Expansion was accompanied by marginalization of domestic agriculture. This had the effect of eroding the potential role of domestic agriculture in development. Prior to Emancipation, a rigid system of social stratification and a political structure developed which functioned as pillars for external dependence and internal hegemony of the planter class. The marginalization of domestic agriculture and the rigidity of the social structure combined to make Montserrat vulnerable to a renewal of external dependence relations, following periods of economic decline. This occurred after Emancipation as well as during the present century, when sea-island cotton replaced sugar as the export staple.

This dissertation demonstrates that the expansion of tourism during the 1960's, following the collapse of staple production, was accompanied by a renewal of obstacles to transformation. By concentrating factors of production in externally-propelled forms of economic activity, the growth of tourism fostered marginalization of domestic agriculture. A corollary of this process was that changing class relations perpetuated the pluralistic nature of stratification in Montserrat's post-plantation society. These, and the rise to social prominence of a new elite, whose

aspirations were defined by dependence relations, form present-day obstacles to economic and social transformation.

"A new day is dawning
I am warning you my friend.
Hold on to your property
And will it for your children!"

The Mighty Arrow
Montserrat, 1970.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

DEPENDENCE, TOURISM, AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

1. THE PROBLEM

This dissertation examines some of the consequences of the growth of tourism in Montserrat, following the collapse of plantation agriculture, in the late 1950's. During the 1960's, tourism rapidly replaced agricultural production as the islands's economic base. This process was realized by the investment of metropolitan capital. While the Montserrat case of West Indian tourism development is unique in many ways, I feel that the findings of this work will point toward general tendencies inherent in the expansion of tourism in underdeveloped countries.

Establishment of a tourist industry is presented as a strategy for development in underdeveloped countries. Thus, Davis, in Finance and Development (December, 1968:34-39), a publication of the International Monetary Fund, suggests that due to the fact that most tourism investments mature in a relatively short time (see also I.U.O.T.O., 1966:43), an expanding tourist sector contributes rapidly to the developmental process. As a generator of employment, tourism is thought to compare favorably to other forms of economic activity and its benefits diffuse widely through the economy. This argument is based primarily on the

premise that tourist dollars (the money spent by the tourist in a host country) do not stop moving once the tourist has spent them. Instead, it is argued they are spent several times and the more often they circulate through the host country's economy, the greater their effect will be on the country's national income. The economic effect of the circulating-value-adding tourist dollar is referred to as its multiplier effect, i.e., the effect on the host country's economy of a tourist dollar entering and being multiplied as it circulates through the economy (Checci and Company, 1961; Peters, 1969; Zinder and Company, 1969).

Another way in which tourism is thought to stimulate development is through its beneficial effects on other sectors of the economy.

> The development impact of tourism is shown not only in foreign exchange earned or jobs created by new hotel investments, but also in the stimulus given to other economic activities, such as services, construction, handicrafts, transport, and food production (International Finance Corporation, I.F.C., 1971 Annual Report, page 27).

Gray, one of the few economists of tourism to deal with what he calls "enclave resident industry", a type of tourism that became dominant in Montserrat, suggests that it can act as a substitute for resort tourism and as a means to develop underdeveloped parts of the country. The enclave residence industry may also reduce the effects of seasonality in resort tourism by maintaining levels of demand for the goods and services sold by enterprises ancillary to the resorts, such as restaurants and entertainment establishments (1970: Appendix B).

The imputed benefits of tourism development are not limited to the economic sphere only: government leaders and travel promoters are fond of extolling the virtues of tourism as a promoter of good will, international understanding and co-operation. In the words of a former

U. S. Secretary of Commerce, "Tourists bring wealth in the form of good will and understanding ..."(Foreword, Checci and Company, 1961:iii). Or, according to Arthur Hanlet, past President of the International Union of Official Travel Organizations,

> ...We (in the tourist business) are encouraging our citizens to discover the world, its fascinating riches and its basic and profound unity. We are presenting tourism to the world with all its wonderful possibilities. We have convinced the most important people of our time of the value of tourism. One has to remember the judgment pronounced on the occasion of the International Tourist Year in 1967 by a great number of influencial leaders, like President Johnson in the United States, President Senghor of Senegal, King Baudouin of Belgium, President Tito of Yugoslavia, U Thant of the United Nations, and the Chiefs of the main religious communities, including Pope Paul VI and leaders of the communities of the Protestant Church.
>
> But it may not be enough to proclaim tourism as an international force promoting the happiness and enrichment of our people. We must endeavor to maintain tourism at the highest cultural and spiritual levels. We must organize tourism so that it is not only good business, but an opportunity to create a cultivated and more peaceful world (Editorial Comment, McIntosh, 1972:4).

This opinion is echoed by McIntosh who, in a recent textbook on tourism, states that "travel has a very significant influence on international understanding and appreciation of other people" (1972:39). Peters (1969:11) expresses a similar conviction about the beneficial influence of tourism development on international understanding.

In contrast to the statements quoted above, it is my position that the views they represent have little theoretical or empirical basis and should, therefore, be critically assessed. In this dissertation I shall present evidence which suggests that under certain economic and social conditions, the introduction and growth of tourism will have inhibiting effects on economic and social development. It is my thesis that:

1. The conditions of dependence and underdevelopment which obtained in Montserrat at the end of the 1950's represented the requisite conditions for investment in tourism, and
2. Under such conditions, the establishment and growth of tourism fostered a renewal and deepening of dependence and underdevelopment.

The conditions of dependency and underdevelopment that obtained in Montserrat prior to the introduction of tourism were defined primarily by the historical dominance of the plantation system and, secondarily, by the state of collapse of plantation agriculture at the end of the 1950's. In section two of this chapter I shall discuss dependency and underdevelopment as concepts, with special reference to the literature on development in the Caribbean region. In section three I shall discuss plantation agriculture and tourism as modes of hinterland exploitation, whose very development is accompanied by economic and social underdevelopment.

Sections two and three contain theoretical discussions; they are concerned with the definition of concepts required for the analysis of phenomena under study (cf. Dos Santos, 1970:173; Hindes and Hirst, 1975: Introduction; cf. Myrdal, 1968:24-25). These concepts will be drawn from the existing literature and will be employed as frameworks for interpretation. The objective of this study is not to generate new theory but, nonetheless, an interpretation of the social processes which accompanied the growth of tourism during the 1960's in Montserrat will contribute to a general understanding of the roll of tourism in development.

2. DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The study of change in, what Balandier refers to as, the " colonial situation" (1966:34-61) requires concepts and methods which are not part of traditional anthroploogical theory and methodology. Yet, Frucht has suggested with specific reference to change in Nevis, a neighboring island of Montserrat,

> In shifting our attention from primitive societies to these peasant and modernizing societies (or part societies) we have often retained our basic methodological approach of community study and the relations between natural habitat, the technology and the community organization. (1966:2).

For instance, if we were to follow Malinowski, the study of the consequences of tourism in Montserrat would involve "use (of) the same methods and devices which the old anthropologist used in the study of his primitive, relatively unaffected, single culture." (1966:11). Even if anthropology, in North America, has moved away from particularism, to a renewed interest in evolution and history, conceptual problems remain. Studies of acculturation, peasantries and modernization have negated the view of primitive cultures as "pristine crystals existing in their own right, but as aspects related systematically to the on-going process of civilization" (Wolf; 1964:22). But, Wolf points out, "the question of how the transition from primitive culture to civilization had taken place, the question of mechanism", was avoided (Ibid.:59, emphasis added). The question of mechanism is a crucial one for an anthropology of development. As Schneider has shown in a recent review of the literature on "Economic Development and Anthropology" (1975:271-293), formalist, substantivist and Marxist approaches represent widely divergent views regarding definitions of and strategies for economic development. Implicit in each, however, is recognition of the existence of relation-

ships which tie an underdeveloped community, or country, to developed ones. Formalist and substantivist anthropology view those relationships as either positive or neutral; the exploitative nature of the relationships which tie a peasant community to the outside, is denied (Ibid.: 285).

The premise on which my approach in this dissertation is based is akin to positions taken by Wolf (1966) and Adams (1970). Thus, by development I mean transformation of the existing political, social and economic structures, by self-determination. Underdevelopment, then, is considered to be a consequence of dependence, i.e., lack of power. In the remainder of this section I shall discuss further the concepts of dependence and underdevelopment. In order to do so, I shall go beyond the boundaries of established anthropology and draw on the literature in dependence economics. To paraphrase O'Laughlin (1975:368), in the anthropology of development there can be no autonomous discipline of anthropology.

The concept of dependence presumes the existence of structures which transcend the local structures of community, province or state. Terms such as "social field" (Gluckman, 1947), "core-periphery" (Wallerstein, 1974), "metropolis-satellite" (Frank, 1967) and "metropolis-hinterland" (Best and Levitt, 1969), all refer to the existence of supra-local structures. The concept of dependence attributes a specific quality to the economic, social and political relationships which exist between a metropolis and its hinterlands in a world capitalist economic system. Marx (1967), Lenin (1965), Baran (1966), and Frank (1967; 1969), among others, have pointed to the essentially exploitative character of these relationships. Moreover, exploitation by the metropolis of the

hinterland is seen as responsible for a retardation of economic growth and development. Frank has pointed out that dependence-induced retardation of development in the hinterland is an ongoing process: the development of underdevelopment.

Chase Dunn (1975:722), in a review of the literature on dependence and underdevelopment, suggests that dependence not only involves exploitation by the metropolis of the hinterland, but also a structural distortion and the surpression of autonomous policies in the hinterland. The means of exploitation are "decapitalization, unequal exchange and subordination to external controls" (Ibid.). Structural distortion can, for example, be effected by specialization in the production of raw materials and will be manifested by an outward oriented infra-structure and skewed resource use patterns. The suppression of national policies is a result of a stunted development of the national bourgeoisie and its ties with metropolitan corporations, including those with financial institutions. The bourgeoisie's dependence on metropolitan institutions and its resulting external orientation form structural and ideological obstacles to development.

West Indian development economists began to stress the concept of dependence in the early 1960's (Girvan, 1973:4). Dependence came to be defined in terms of reliance on, and vulnerability to, external conditions (Ibid.). Such external dependence is seen as being accompanied by a lack of internal structural interdependence (Ibid.). Accordingly, Brewster (1973:91) defines economic dependence as

> ... a lack of capacity to manipulate the operative elements of the economic system. Such a situation is characterized by an absence of interdependence between the economic functions of a system. This lack of interdependence implies that the system has no internal dynamic which could enable it to function as an independent, autonomous unit.

Best and Levitt see dependence-induced underdevelopment in the West Indies as closely linked to the historical dominance of plantation agriculture. Moreover, obstacles to development are posed by "institutional structures and constraints which the contemporary economy has inherited from the plantation legacy" and "(the) historical stages which underlie the models (of stages in the evolution of plantation economy) are to be seen in the contemporary perspective of successive layers of inherited structures and mechanisms which condition the possibilities of transformation of the present economy" (1969:12). In other words, current West Indian dependence and underdevelopment are not simply structural characteristics of the present, but consequences and current manifestations of several hundreds of years of metropolitan enterprise. Best and Levitt argue that, in spite of changes in plantation agriculture, as well as the appearance of other forms of metropolitan enterprise such as mineral exploitation, manufacturing and tourism, little structural change has taken place since the 17th century. By this they mean that

> ...the character of the economic process in the region seems not to have been significantly altered over the period. Neither the modifications which through time have been made to the original institutions, nor the new institutions which have from time to time been incorporated into the economy, have relieved its dependence on external development initiatives. The economy remains, as it has always been, passively responsive to external demands or any external investment, but almost exclusively to <u>metropolitan</u> demand and <u>metropolitan</u> investment (Ibid.:22, emphasis added).

Thus, the relationships between the West Indies and its metropoli retain their traditional dependent character, i.e., the West Indian economies specialize in the production of staples for export; resources required for production, capital, management, ownership etc., originate in the metropoli. (Ibid.:14-22).

West Indian societies in general, and Montserrat in particular, are small in terms of population and geographical area. It might be suggested that smallness represents a major obstacle to development in Montserrat, regardless of the historical effects of metropolitan enterprise. Accordingly, the island would be a prime example of the influence of size on what McIntyre (1967:166) has called "structural dependence - the dependence that arises because of the size and structure of the economy and can not be helped". Demas (1965) has taken the position that in order for small countries to overcome the influence of size on structural change, integration with similarly small units may effect the desirable economies of scale. Another West Indian economist, Clive Thomas, has recently challenged such views:

> Smallness is not interpreted here as an attribute of material reality capable by itself of creating social forms. On the contrary, it is interpreted simply, in a certain sense, as an additional dimension to underdevelopment.
>
> Thus size is not simply and crudely a constraint imposed by nature on social development. Smallness essentially manifests itself as one aspect of the context of relations between classes and groups in society, and their own relationship to the material environment of their political unit. Smallness is therefore not the cause but the spatial demographic, and resource context in which social relationships are formed and the mode of production is organized. ...We suggest that smallness as an additional feature gives a qualitatively different character to two major manifestations of underdevelopment. One is the present nature of the structural dependence of the small underdeveloped economies in international capitalism. The other is the constraints which size and structural dependence together place on the material base of the societies and hence on their material capacity to be transformed. By structural dependence we mean the extent to which the economic structure of these economies depends on foreign trade, payments, capital, technology, and decision-making to generate domestic economic processes (1974:30, emphasis added).

Thomas suggests, furthermore, that the deterministic view of smallness in relation to development is in league with approaches which stress either overpopulation or climate, or soil type, or ethos, etc., or all of them together, as obstacles to development. Where they fail, he points out, is that "they all purport to explain underdevelopment as a phenomenon independent of the historical process" (Ibid.:48). This is echoed by Best who asks, in addition, is it not "inherent in the structure of the international corporations which operate in the region that the Caribbean economies remain fragmented and unintegrated" (1971)?

Dependence and underdevelopment are two closely related phenomena. In this dissertation I shall use dependence with reference to the dominance-submission quality of the relationship between metropolis and hinterland that is ultimately a consequence of the investment of metropolitan capital in a hinterland economy. This quality of the metropolis-hinterland relationship is clearly expressed by Guitton (quoted by Balandier, 1966:40) which, he writes, "is in no way different from the capital-labor relationship, or the relationship Hegel has termed master-servant". Underdevelopment is, first and foremost, a consequence and manifestation of dependence. It refers to the process of structural distortion, in terms of economy, society and policy, that characterizes the hinterland and which, at any one time, constitutes the very obstacle to transformation. The structural distortion which underdevelopment represents is, therefore, also a condition which tends to perpetuate and renew dependence on the metropolis. One may refer, once again to the capital-labor relationship: the very dependence of the worker on the capitalist creates in the worker conditions which necessitate perpetuation of his dependence on the capitalist. In this sense, underdevelop-

ment is both consequent and antecedent to dependence. In the following section I shall discuss plantation agriculture and tourism as dependent forms of economic activity whose growth fosters underdevelopment.

3. PLANTATION AGRICULTURE AND TOURISM

In this section I shall discuss plantation agriculture and tourism as dependent (externally propelled) economies whose development tends to foster economic underdevelopment and social structural obstacles to transformation. The discussion will be theoretical and will be based primarily on contributions made to a political economy of underdevelopment by Lloyd Best, Kari Levitt and George Beckford.

a. Plantation Economy

Best and Levitt (1969 see also Best, 1968) treat plantation agriculture in the West Indies as a form of hinterland economy, i.e., an economy tied symbiotically to a metropolis. The symbiosis, however, is unequal since "the locus of discretion and choice rests in the metropolitan economy" (Ibid.:14). A plantation economy is also a hinterland of exploitation: that is, the metropolis, in addition to providing for a military and administrative infra-structure also brings in economic enterprise, organization and an (initial) capital. These resources are appropriated solely for the production of agricultural commodities for export (export staples) to the metropolis. An important concomitant of this pattern of appropriation is underdevelopment of production for domestic use, thus creating a structural dependency on imported goods. A hinterland of exploitation "does not import in order to complement domestic supply ... it imports in order to export ..." (Ibid.:33).

Unlike colonies which are settled by metropolitans, in plantation economies labor is brought in from other countries (Ibid.:19). The social and economic organization which develops is largely determined by the all-embracing role of the plantation. Such a role is necessitated by the conditions of "open resources" (Nieboer, 1910) which obtain initially, for without the organization of labor into total economic and social institutions, workers would tend to move into independent production (cf. Marx, 1967:Chapter XXXIII). Hence, one crucial dimension of the institutional aspect of production is the unfree status of the plantation worker.

The mercantile character of the relationship between metropolis and hinterland is defined by a number of dependency creating and maintaining provisions:

1. The "Muscovado Bias" restricts "the hinterland to terminal activity: either to primary production and crude processing..." Furthermore, "...elaboration is left to the metropolis and with that, the lion's share of the value added" (Best, 1968:284).
2. The "Metropolitan Exchange Standard" regulates the currency and fiscal arrangements between the metropolis and the hinterland.
3. The "Navigation Provision" guarantees metropolitan control over the "origin, destination and carriage of trade" with the hinterland.
4. "Imperial Preference" - refers to provisions that govern the export to the metropolis, as well as the imports of metropolitan goods by the hinterland country (Ibid.).

In mercantile production, the "joint-stock" trading company dominates enterprise in the hinterland.

> This mobilizes the venture capital and converts it into fixed capital-slaves and equipment - as well

> as into working capital — the magazines of provisions, tools and supplies (Ibid.: 288).

The plantation is the unit of production and is linked to "the unit of enterprise ... by processes of supply and disposal" (Ibid.).

Best and Levitt suggest that while the "Pure Plantation Economy" (Best, 1968) underwent regular modifications and gave rise to variant types, during the 300 years since its establishment, contemporary West Indian economies are still defined by a common plantation legacy:

> In spite of important differences, the regional economies are embedded in a well-defined set of institutions and structures and are characterized by a distinct pattern of economic behaviour. Our central hypothesis is that this plantation legacy represents an endowment of mechanisms of economic adjustment which deprive the region of internal dynamic. More specifically, it involves patterns of income distribution and disposal which discriminate against economic transformation (Best and Levitt, 1969:32).

The propensity to import in order to export is established under conditions of high staple prices and relatively low cost of production. Thus, provisions and supplies tend to be imported and "few backward linkages within the hinterland and limited forward linkages to further stages of processing", develop. Even when external and internal conditions necessitate production of goods and services "ancillary to the extraction or elaboration of the staple, these activities tend to be undertaken within the total institution, ... the spill-over or 'spread' effects on the local economy are relatively feeble" (Ibid.). Education and training, as well as the occupational structure reflect the underdeveloped state of the economy, but also its specific structure. Shed by the development of domestic production of goods and services, they tend to be constrained by the concentration of resources in staple production, by taste preferences for imported goods and existing patterns of production within the plantation (Ibid.: 37).

Processes that determine income and employment reflect the extractive nature of production in the plantation hinterland, as well as the dependence on metropolitan capital and entrepreneurship (Ibid.:38). The former eventually results in the shift of capital and entrepreneurship to new areas and thus decreases the demand for labor. It is under these conditions that a national economy emerges which exhibits certain special characteristics:

> ... (a) national propertied class is born in circumstances which restrict its capacity for innovation and self-assertation and stunt its growth. A national economy emerges with a bias towards the production of output requiring traditional skills and service traditional demands. Specifically, the new sectors either produce minor staples for export with the assistance of metropolitan distribution agencies or service for residentiary consumption including commercial services associated with importation (Ibid.:40-41).

It is, therefore, under conditions of decline of the staple economy that a national economy emerges (cf. Frank, 1967:11). But, a number of factors contribute to the necessity for, and perpetuation of, the internal dominance of the plantation and external dependence on the metropolis:

1. Although independent production develops outside the plantations, it remains underdeveloped due to the fact that both land and labor are held in reserve for periods of high prices of export staples.

2. Skills and crafts remain those characteristic of specialization within the plantation.

3. The traditional demand structure emphasizes imported rather than domestic products.

4. The state is organized specifically to maintain law and order rather than economic development.

5. The undeveloped state of the economy favors reliance on traditional mercantilist arrangements with the metropolis since it can not generate the required capital. This option tends to be subscribed to by the planters, merchants, and small producers, as well as wage workers (Best and Levitt, 39-44).

While the economy may continue to exist in an uneasy equilibrium, certain inherent tendencies threaten its existence. Fragmentation of land, decrease in productivity, dependence on labour intensive techniques, and underemployment in service industries are fostered by increases in the "ratio of labour to land in the residentiary sector..." (Ibid.:44). Emigration and pressure for change become prominent phenomena.

In his book, Persistent Poverty, Beckford (1972) has further developed the model of plantation economy to account for underdevelopment processes in parts of the Third World which saw the establishment and growth of plantation systems (Benn, 1974:254). His main thesis is that the real potential for economic progress lies outside the plantation sector (1972:47). After Emancipation ex-slaves attempted to establish independent production.

> Where land of whatever quality was available they established subsistence plots which eventually were able to produce marketable surpluses. A considerable degree of diversification of the economies was the immediate result. In addition to production of foodstuffs for sale in the domestic market, the ex-slaves also introduced new export crops, such as bananas. Because the plantations had engrossed all of the best land, this peasant activity was restricted to the poorer hillside land which nevertheless yielded enough for peasant subsistence as well as surpluses for sale. The money economy expanded, an infra-structure of footpaths (rudimentary roads) developed in the mountainous interior, an internal system of marketing emerged, a rudimentary banking and credit system gradually took form and linkages between the different production and service sectors were established (Ibid.).

Beckford believes that this peasant sector constituted the real dynamic for economic development, for it is growth in agricultural production and productivity that underlie transformation. In its absence the propensity for importation tends to be perpetuated (Ibid.:189).

Although Emancipation provided a stimulus for the establishment of an independent agricultural sector, the plantation sector of the economy especially when dominated by "vertically integrated corporate plantation enterprises" (Ibid.:48), largely stunted its development. Beckford feels that the plantation continued to dominate economic life.

> It owns and controls use of the best land, has access to credit and technology, owns all the factory capacity for the rudimentary processing of plantation crops in the islands, provides services for the marketing of the export staples (shipping, insurance, oversees distribution, and so forth), and influences government policy in fundamental ways. In addition, the legacy of life on the plantation is reflected in the economic behavior of the peasants. For example the taste for imported food-stuffs (like saltfish and flour) is well established and this pattern of consumption influences the effect of consumptive spending on the economies. And finally, the peasants still rely to a large extent on wage work on the plantations to support their own production, a substantial part of which consists of export crops which involve dependence on the plantation in one way or another for example processing and marketing (Ibid.).

What emerged from the above is that in those regions or countries where plantation agriculture was established as the means of hinterland exploitation, a specific type of economy evolved. Beckford calls this a "plantation economy" and describes it as one in which

> ...the internal and external dimension of the plantation system dominate the country's economic, social and political structure and its relations with the rest of the world (Ibid.:12).

The plantation economy, therefore, is also a type of society, the plantation society, ... "with distinguishing characteristics of social structure and political organization, and laws of motion governing social change" (Ibid.:55). These characteristics of the plantation society, which derived their definition initially from the plantation itself, represent social obstacles to development (transformation). They are the

following:

1. Weak community structure and loose family organization that prevent the emergence of viable local and regional units of administration and control, thereby making it difficult to raise local taxes and to execute local development projects.

2. A rigid social structure that inhibits factor mobility.

3. The strong correlation between race and class that creates a caste system and generates social tension and instability.

4. A general absence of social responsibility that results in poorly developed educational systems.

5. Strong central government administration with a generally undemocratic political structure that discourages effective popular participation in the developmental process.

6. Excessive power of the planter and associated classes that is exercised more in the interest of the small dominant class than in the interest of the society as a whole.

7. The low incidence of progress-oriented values among all the people of plantation society which derives fom the strong element of tradition among the planter class and the general hostility to intellectualism which is essential for innovation and change.

8. A strong individualism that contributes more to clashes of interest in international relations than to co-operative activity.

9. An exploitative authoritarian tradition that prevents co-operative decision making and associative productive effort.

10. Pervasive value orientations that reflect aspirations to a "great house" life style with characteristic high propensities to consume imported luxuries and to invest in non-productive assets (Ibid.: 216-217).

The plantation societies of the West Indies, it appears from the above, contain two broad, but contrary dynamics. On the one hand, externally propelled expansion of the economic base (staple production for export) has a tendency to effect not only underdevelopment but also stagnation. At the same time, the condition of underdevelopment, coupled with the social and political institutions and ethos which ultimately derived from the plantation, are obstacles to transformation. These obstacles will be perpetuated as long as dependence relationships tie the hinterland econ-

omy to its metropolis.

b. Tourism

Stagnation of the staple economy may eventually lead to its complete breakdown, at which point a number of alternative courses present themselves. First, at one level, there is a choice between maintenance or severance of links with the metropolis. At the local level, the traditional institutional base may be maintained or transformed. Best and Levitt point out that in the case where a hinterland maintains both traditional links with the metropolis and its institutional base, the discovery of a new export staple may initiate a new cycle of expansion-maturation-decline (1969:47-48). In a subsequent chapter I shall discuss the introduction of limes in Montserrat after Emancipation and the switch from sugar to sea-island cotton, in the beginning of the present century, as examples of the introduction of new export staples, initiating new growth cycles, yet perpetuating underdevelopment.

It is possible for countries to remain hinterlands of exploitation, following the breakdown of the traditional staple economy, while no new staple is discovered. Collapse of the plantation economy makes cheap labor and land available. If the hinterland's location is favorable, the economy may become based on the export of a "quasi-staple", creating an economic sector which is characterized by service activity. Best and Levitt (Ibid.) point to "finishing-touch assembly manufacturing, tourism and the provision of labor to the metropole by emigration" as examples of service activity. The establishment of a quasi-staple economy produces

> ...an extreme case of an economy which imports in order to export, in which local initiatives are

> limited, in which the wage bill of the export sector is the main contribution to the national income. In such an economy, government expenditure is necessarily heavily financed by metropolitan grants (Ibid.).

This suggests that the establishment of a quasi-staple economy based on tourism, in a post-plantation society such as existed in Montserrat during the early 1960's, means renewal of the metropolis-hinterland relationship and involves the dependence of the hinterland on external propellants. As we saw above, it is the fact of dependence which accounts for the absence of an internal economic dynamic in the hinterland.

This raises the question of the role of tourism as an agent for development. Theoretically, expansion of tourism can be expected to produce growth, i.e., increased economic activity. Such growth, however, would not necessarily promote economic development. On the contrary, it would not foster transformation of the structure of economic life, away from traditional mono-staple specialization which is characterized by a lack of interdependence between economic sectors.

The premise on which the analysis in this dissertation is based is that the introduction of a new staple, or a quasi-staple, into a hinterland of exploitation whose traditional economy is in a state of decline or collapse, necessarily reproduces structural underdevelopment. Thus, the very process of economic expansion based on tourism is one of underdevelopment due to the gravitation of metropolitan capital and enterprise to an area of cheap labor and land. Under these circumstances the expansion of tourism will not stimulate growth in productive sectors of the economy, such as domestic agriculture. Rather, tourism will perpetuate economic marginality as a result of its greater success in attracting factors of production. While certain changes in the occupational struc-

ture are bound to be effected, the social structural legacy of the plantation society will be largely maintained.

In spite of the fact that the existing literature on tourism is highly promotional, a growing body of evidence has been accumulated, in recent years, which disputes the developmental role of tourism in underdeveloped countries. There is also a fear among those who do not have a vested interest in the travel business that a broad range of deleterious effects of tourism on the underdeveloped host country, from the environmental to the psychological, are a consequence of its growth. A Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development Report on the "Role of Tourism in Caribbean Development" expresses concern about the ways in which tourism has contributed to pollution problems, wastefulness of resources and development activities which, in general, "(are) ... prejudicial to the quality of the environment" (1971:15). Forster (1964), with reference to the Pacific region, suggests that the growth of tourism in the underdeveloped countries of the area can be extremely disruptive. This relates to the fact of underdevelopment in the sense that in such a context "capital resources may be diverted into tourism to the disadvantage of other sectors" (Ibid.:219). Furthermore, the increase in tourist traffic will result in increased demand for goods and services, straining local resources and exerting an upward pressure on their values (Ibid.:221). Local shortages will inevitably produce increased dependence on external resources of both commodities and capital (Ibid.:222). Lewis, speaking of Bermuda and the Bahamas, (1968A), as well as of the U.S. Virgin Islands (1968B), expresses concern about the subordination of all sectors of the economy to the requisites of tourism. Increased dependence on foreign capital brings with it outside control over local operations. Naipaul, touching on the dependency aspect

of tourism in the West Indies, draws a parallel with the history of slavery in the region.

> Every poor country accepts tourism as an unavoidable degradation. None have gone so far as some of the West Indian islands, which, in the name of tourism, are selling themselves into a new slavery (1969:210).

In a recent article concerning tourism in the West Indies, Louis A. Perez Jr. also compares tourism-linked dependence and underdevelopment with the traditional dependence associated with the plantation systems.

> Tourism has contributed little to economic development in the West Indies. The industry is foreign owned and controlled from abroad: ...
>
> Tourist expenditures, in short, do not remain within the region but are repatriated to metropolitan centers. For every dollar spent in the commonwealth Caribbean, seventy-seven cents returns (sic) in some form to the metropolis. Tourism adds still one more industry that demands immediate and short-range economic development. In converting former agricultural mono-economics to travel mono-economies tourism renews and reinforces the historical process of underdevelopment (1973:481, emphasis added).

With reference to Morrocco and Tunisia, Paul points to the high cost of tourism development in those countries. In addition, tourism induces inflation and land speculation, without having a stimulating effect on other sectors of the economy.

> Morrocco may be an extreme case, but here economists have estimated that the ratio of capital to labor is higher even than in capital intensive heavy industry. A final drawback of tourism is its failure to stimulate long term growth, through its effects on the economy as a whole. It has been a major stimulus to such relatively unsophisticated sectors as handicrafts. It has thus failed to introduce modern productive institutions and techniques into the economy (1971:23).

While not specifically concerned with the relationship between tourism and dependence, Levitt and Gulati (1970) and Bryden and Faber

(1971), in articles critical of the Zinder Report (1969), suggest that, due to a high rate of leakage, the multiplier effect of tourist expenditure in the Eastern Caribbean is relatively low. Levitt and Gulati calculated that the income-to-nationals (I.T.N.) multiplier was even less than the G.D.P. multiplier, or close to 0.8 (Ibid.). What this means is that a certain proportion of the value of the G.D.P. accrues not to nationals but to foreigners, in the form of wages or salaries or profits. The extent to which the tourist industries are owned and operated by non-nationals will, therefore, determine the differential between the G.D.P. and the I.T.N. multipliers. The same authors also suggest that multiplier analysis fails to assess the cost of tourism's social consequences. Thus, while the Zinder Report counselled the Caribbean governments to greatly increase promotional expenditures on tourism, Bryden and Faber found a relationship between increased tourist density and higher levels of animosity toward tourists (1971:81). Bryden (1973) totally rejects multiplier analysis in the assessment of the benefits, or their lack, of tourism development in the Caribbean. In its stead, he has developed a cost-benefit analysis, taking into account degrees of foreign ownership of tourist industries, the employment of non-nationals in skilled and professional positions and the degree of government involvement in providing for a tourist infra-structure, as well as in granting incentives to foreign capital. His conclusion strongly challenges the enthusiastic claims made by tourism's protagonists:

> (The findings) raise some very serious doubts about the viability of tourism development in its present form, at least for the smaller islands of the Caribbean, and suggests that under certain circumstances a perfectly recognizable 'economic' case can be made against tourism development without necessarily calling upon the various kinds of external diseconomy or 'transcendental' costs which may be associated

with tourism in developing countries (Ibid.:218).

The transcendental costs of tourism referred to by Bryden, have also been noted by other authors. Paul (1971:25) and Forster (1964:226) both mention the cheapening effect of tourism on local, especially folk, culture in addition to the appearance of undesirable lifestyles (Lewis, 1968A:150).

The uneven distribution of the economic benefits of tourism is expressed by the fact that land developers, land owners and successful entrepreneurs tend to be the first and the greatest beneficiaries of tourism development (Lundberg, 1972:130). Again, in ways similar to the impact of plantation agriculture on West Indian Societies, few outside the small national elites have secured access to the wealth which tourism represents (Perez, Jr., 1973:476). In St. Maarten, in spite of spectacular tourism development during the last decade, "it is mainly the hoteliers, the merchants, the cabdrivers and the workers in the industry who benefit from the tourist dollar". Moreover, "the tourists and the men who run the tourist industry tend to be white and wealthy. The workers tend to be black and decidely less affluent. This situation has created and will create race problems" (Howard, 1971:5). Inequality, with respect to both color and class, typically underlies the conflicts and tensions in colonial societies (Balandier, 1966). That tourism in underdeveloped countries generates conflict is suggested by a number of authors (Eric Green in Lundberg, 1972; Howard, 1971; Forster, 1964; Nunez, 1963). Such tensions manifest themselves at the interpersonal level, as between tourist and local person, but they may also explode into open conflict, as they did in Bermuda, Curaçao and in Jamaica.

In this section I have attempted to lay a theoretical basis for a discussion of the growth of tourism in Montserrat, which followed the

decline and collapse of the island's traditional plantation economy. I have used the concepts of dependence and underdevelopment as elaborated in recent years by West Indian political economists. It has provided theoretical justification for conceptualizing tourism as a means of hinterland exploitation. Continuity with antecedent plantation systems was provided by regarding tourism as a quasi-staple export, whose expansion under conditions of underdevelopment renews and reinforces the obstacles to economic and social transformation that are the legacy of plantation staple production. A brief summary of the literature on the consequences of tourism in underdeveloped countries was presented in order to strengthen the case for this theoretical approach.

In the following chapters I will present evidence in support of my thesis regarding the relationship between tourism expansion and underdevelopment. In Chapters II and III I will discuss the geographical and historical background behind the shift from plantation agriculture to tourism. My objective is to apply the model of plantation economy and society to the specific case of hinterland economy which Montserrat represents. Chapter IV will focus on the post World War II decline and eventual collapse of staple production in Montserrat. I will demonstrate that this was a process of creation of the preconditions for the establishment of a quasi-staple export economy. Chapter V will discuss the establishment and expansion of tourism in Montserrat during the 1960's, and will focus in particular on reallocation of factors of production. In Chapter VI I will analyze the effect of tourism on domestic agriculture. Chapter VII will discuss the social consequences of tourism with special emphasis on intergroup relations, as defined by both class and color

criteria. In Chapter VIII I will analyze the politics of tourism in the light of tourism's effects on economy and society. In a final chapter I will summarize the essential argument as well as the findings of this work. I will draw conclusions with respect to the role of tourism in small underdeveloped countries such as Montserrat. An outline of the process of field research will appear in the form of an Appendix.

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter outlines the geographical background of the problem which is the focus of this research. I shall discuss Montserrat's geography with specific reference to the island's potential for agricultural production and for tourism.

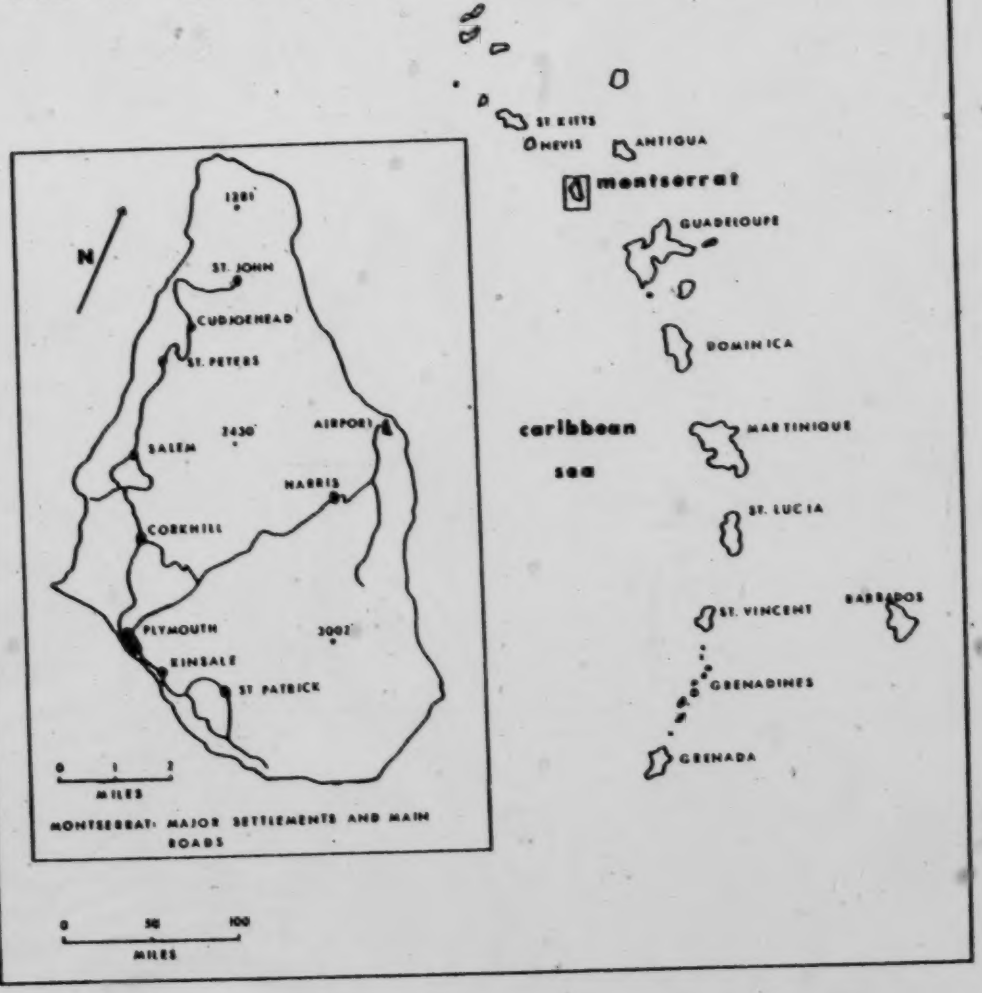
Montserrat is a small pearshaped island, 10.5 miles long and 7 miles wide, with a total surface area of 39.5 square miles. It is situated in the Eastern Caribbean and lies 27 miles southwest of Antigua. It is approximately equidistant from the French island of Guadeloupe, in the South, and Nevis, to the Northwest. Montserrat lies latitude 16 degrees 45 minutes North and longitude 62 degrees 10 minutes West.

1. NATURAL ENVIRONMENT AND LANDUSE PATTERNS

Montserrat's origin is volcanic; it is part of the inner volcanic ring of the Lesser Antilles.

> The land comprises three hill masses, namely Silver Hill in the North (1285 ft.), Central Hills (2450 ft.) and Soufriere Hills in the South, together with three smaller hills, Garibaldi Hill (840 ft.) and St. George's Hill (1200 ft.) lying between and to the West of the last-named masses, and South Soufriere Hill (2505 ft.) rising out of the Southern slopes of the Soufriere Hills. The uplands represent the remnants of six extinct vol-

FIGURE 1: EASTERN CARIBBEAN AND MONTSERRAT



> canoes of differing geological age (Hardy and Rodriques, 1949:1)[1].

Montserrat's highest point is Chance's Mountain. It measures 3000 feet and is part of the Soufriere Hills. Deep gorges, called "ghauts" (pronounced "guts") run down the slopes of the hills, making for expense and difficulty in the construction of roads. The sides of the ghauts are steep in the southern part of the island, but more shallow in the North, indicating the relative age of the geological formation. Valleys separate the volcanoes from each other. The aggregate of mountains, hills and valleys makes for a serrated whole and the resulting uneven terrain contributes to problems in the application of mechanized cultivation techniques and irrigation.

Acidic Shoal soils that are difficult to drain are found in the northern parts of the island. Terras soils that are slightly less acidic than Shoal and which also have fewer drainage problems, are prominent in the West. A variety of soils are found in the South; they range from moderately fertile Lithosols on the lowest levels, to highly fertile Brown Earth soils at higher elevations where rainfall is more plentiful. Restricted deposits of alluvial soils are located at Old Road on the Leeward side of the island and also at Trant's on the Windward side. One consequence of the volcanic origin of the soils of Montserrat is the presence of large boulders and stones in the soil, which hinder mechanical cultivation.

Most of Montserrat's coast line is rugged and consists of steep

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[1] F. Hardy and G. Rodriques, Studies in West Indian Soils, XI, "The Agricultural Soils of Montserrat" is the best single source on the physical setting of the island.

cliffs and rockfalls. Limited stretches of sandy beach are located along the Leeward coast. Some of these, however, are accessible only with great difficulty. The island's volcanic origin is also reflected in the black sand of most of the beaches; white sandy beaches only occur at Little Bay and at Rendez Vous Bay in the Northwest.

Three soufrieres (sulpher springs), Lower Gages, Upper Gages and Galways are situated on the western and southern slopes of the Soufriere Hills. Of the three only the latter is accessible (and then only by 4-wheel drive vehicle) and has become something of a tourist attraction. Hot water from the soufrieres collects in several underground streams. Hotwater Pond, fed by one of these streams, is located just north of Plymouth and has, over the years, served the therapeutic needs of arthritics.

Starkey (1960:3) has divided the island into two sections: I, the hills suited mainly for forest reserves, and II, the gentler slopes which are in crops and pasture, except where steep slopes occur. Each section, in turn, is divided into regions. The regional descriptions (see also Figure 2) provide a useful outline of land use patterns in Montserrat, prior to the introduction of tourism. They also demonstrate the influence of the natural environment on land use. I quote Starkey's description in full:

IA. Soufriere Hills

> The peaks rise steeply at angles in places exceeding 30 degrees. Their soils are largely covered with a scrub vegetation of palms and undergrowth which formed after the hurricane of 1928. The lower include some mahogany and cedar, especially near the heads of the ghauts. The summits are volcanic plugs, commonly hidden in the clouds. The lower slopes, especially to the South and East, are much cut up by ghauts. There are spots of arable land but they are too inaccessible for profitable

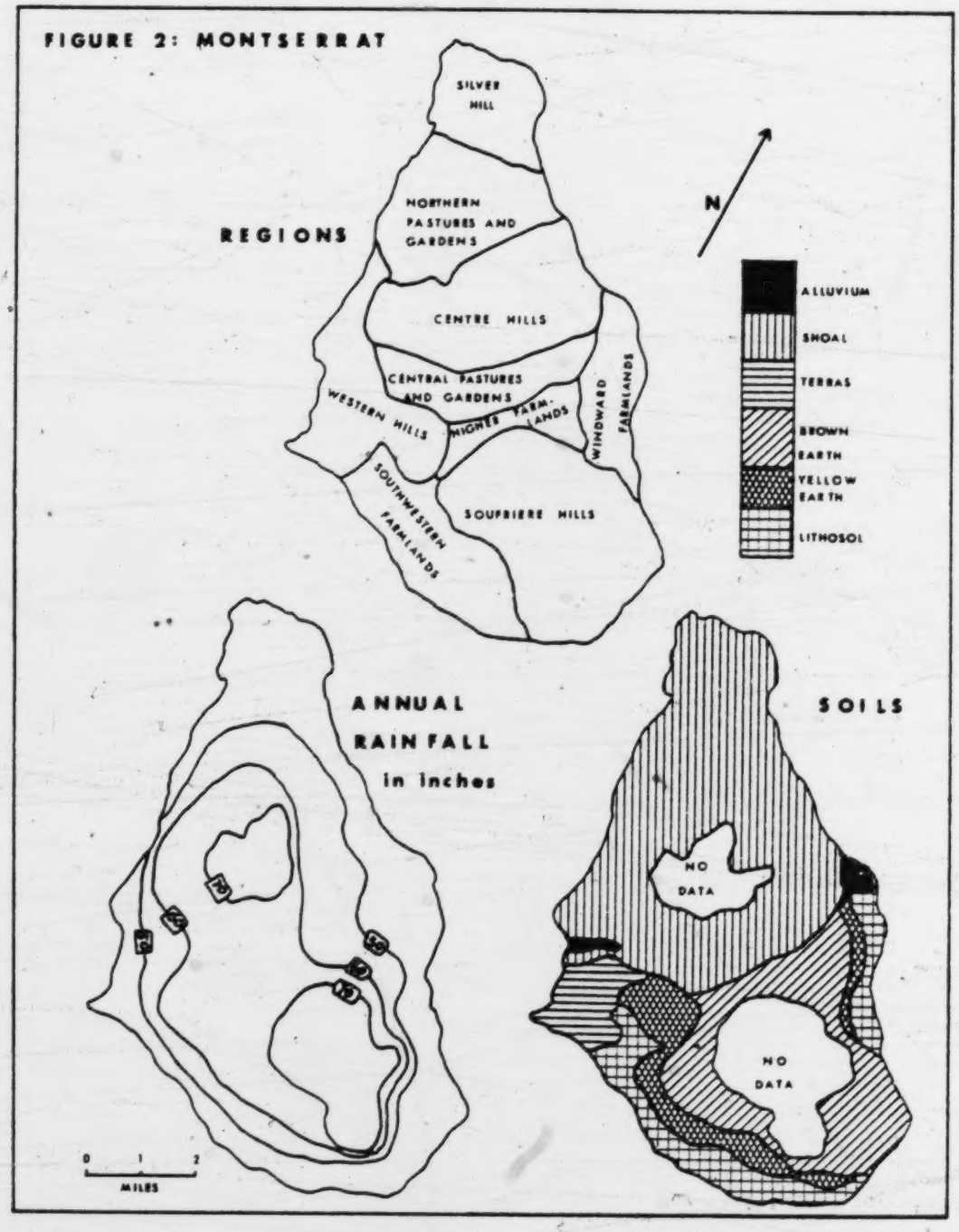
FIGURE 2: MONTSERRAT
REGIONS
SILVER HILL
NORTHERN PASTURES AND GARDENS
CENTRE HILLS
CENTRAL PASTURES AND GARDENS
WESTERN HILLS
HIGHER FARMLANDS
WINDWARD FARMLANDS
SOUTHWESTERN FARMLANDS
SOUFRIERE HILLS
N
ALLUVIUM
SHOAL
TERRAS
BROWN EARTH
YELLOW EARTH
LITHOSOL
ANNUAL RAIN FALL in inches
SOILS
NO DATA
NO DATA
0 1 2
MILES

cultivation. Three soufrieres (sulpher springs) on the western and southern slopes have killed adjacent vegetation.

IB. Centre Hills

These are much more rounded than the preceding region and include remnants of the evergreen rainforest. On the lower slopes patches of cultivation and pasture are intermixed with secondary dry woodland, thorn bushes and scrub. The wind-protected and rainy western slopes are well suited for bananas and coconuts. The windswept eastern slopes are subject to severe drought.

IC. Silver Hills

Here are gentle slopes and open ghauts which terminate in seacliffs several hundred feet high. The sparse rainfall (40-45 inches annually with several dry months), the exposure to strong Atlantic winds and the shoal soils make this area one of scrub woodlands and poor pasture. In favored spots peasants raise crops, especially cotton, but the severely eroded land might better be devoted to reafforestation.

2A. Pastures and Gardens

On each side of the Centre Hills stretches a broad band of narrow ridges and steep slopes which are occupied by peasant cultivators. The villages are commonly on the uplands. The slopes are terraced: most crudely, some very well. Fields of infertile, eroded shoal soils are intermixed with areas of sparse pasture. Cash crops are cotton and ground provisions; livestock are widespread. The rainfall (50-60 inches) is undependable, especially in the North.

2B. Western Hills

These include the slopes of two old volcanoes, St. George's Hill and Garibaldi Hill, and some adjacent low lands. The soils are extremely diverse and include terras, shoals, yellow earth, and alluvium. Some of the slopes are forested with mahogany, terraced and planted in cotton and ground provisions. Tree crops are outstanding; this is the centre of the old lime orchards; here are numerous coconuts; here are the best lands for the new banana industry. Most of the estates are owned by the Montserrat Company, the largest business firm on the island.

2C. Southwestern Farmlands

Smooth volcanic slopes of 5 to 10 degrees are divided between estates and peasant settlements. Terraces are conspicuous features on the slopes which are subdivided by six widespread ghauts. As in the preceding region, these farmlands are easily accessible to Plymouth markets. The planters and peasants specialize in cotton with some sugar cane, ground provisions and vegetables (for export). Bananas have recently been added to the cash crops.

2D. Higher Farmlands

This moist, gently rolling, fertile upland, 1000 to 1400 feet high, is exposed to the wind and is too cool and cloudy for cotton. The region is divided into large fields, some sugar cane and vegetables, others fallowed in scrub and pasture. The only operating old sugar mill is here at Farrell's.

2E. Windward Farmlands

In many ways this area resembles the southeastern farmlands but its modest rainfall (40-50 inches with several months of severe drought) and its exposure to the winds make it less productive. As in the southwestern regions, the slopes are arranged in zones extending in order inland: lithosols, yellow earths, brown earths. The ghauts are generally deeper and the slopes are more dissected than in the southwestern farmlands. The recent crops have been cotton, ground provisions and vegetables.

Patterns of land-use described by Starkey represent the situation as it existed during the late 1950's. At the present time, cultivation is much more limited. Banana production for export ceased shortly after its inception and the sugar mills and distillery at Farrell's closed in 1968. Much of the land that was under cultivation in the 1950's lies idle at the present time or is reverting to bush.

The establishment and growth of tourism during the 1960's resulted in a major shift in the use of land, in terms of traditional patterns. Large tracts of land along the Leeward Coast, north of Plymouth, and on the Windward side of the island, south of the airport, were subdivided

Table 1

Landuse Patterns in Montserrat

1966

Fieldcrops	2272 acres
grassland	3195
treecrops	300
land with immediate agricultural or grazing potential	8795
land with agricultural or grazing potential after major rehabilitation	2733
Total	17295 acres
Urban	1093 acres
real estate[1]	1300
natural forest	2416
planned reafforestation	754
ghauts and cliffs	2458
Total	8021 acres
Grand Total	25316 acres

(Source: Montserrat Department of Agriculture: Annual Report, 1966)

by developers. In addition, urban development around Plymouth greatly affected the use of arable land in that area. I shall discuss agricultural and non-agricultural landuse in greater detail in Chapter VI.

As was indicated above, rainfall is extremely variable, not only seasonally but also from year to year. It varies from 70 inches per year at Riley's to 40 inches per year at Roche's in the Southeast. Temperature records kept at the Grove Agricultural Station show a mean maximum temperature of 86.5°F. Montserrat is windswept all year. The northeast trade winds can have considerable dessicating effect during the early months

[1] This represents the total acreage alienated from agricultural landuse for tourist subdivision (see Chapter IV).

of the year. Hurricanes have been a constant threat to the island's agricultural economy throughout its history.

2. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND POPULATIONS

Montserrat is divided into three parishes: St. Anthony's in the South, St. Peter's in the North and Northwest, and St. George's in the western part of the island. Although parish boundaries have no administrative significance, they do form the basis for population distributions in census reports. In addition, the major population centres are located in different parishes.

Settlements in Montserrat, like those in neighboring islands (cf. Frucht, 1966), are not clearly demarcated units. This is true also for the town of Plymouth. Although the terms "town" and "village" are used, it would be better to speak of settlements. Corkhill Village, where I lived during most of my stay in Montserrat, is not clearly demarcated from the neighboring villages of Delvins and Weekes. The entire area constitutes a settlement and is, as a whole, bounded by ghauts, estates, and roads.

Table 2

Population by Parish

	1891	1911	1921	1946	1960	1970	% change 1946-60	% change 1960-70
St. Anthony's	5707	5392	4999	6040	5649	5658	- 6	+0.2
St. Peter's	3139	3545	3738	4411	3651	3391	-17	-7
St. George's	2916	3259	3383	3882	2867	2408	-26	-16
Montserrat	11762	12296	12120	14333	12167	11458	-15	-6

(Source: 1891, 1946, 1960 and 1970 Census Reports)

The same pattern is found in other parts of the island. Villages have no administrative role and, apart from rumshops, particular trees, light standards, or the public bath house, they lack social or geographic centres such as those of European villages. They are settlements in the true sense of the word. Historically, this pattern is related to the plantation system. Under slavery and continuing after Emancipation, settlements were located on estates, usually on the least productive sections, such as in ghauts or on hills.

St. Anthony's includes the town of Plymouth, with a population of 1,267 in 1970. The most important schools (including a technical school and the secondary school), places of business and government offices are located in and around Plymouth. The larger villages of Corkhill, Kinsale and St. Patrick's are also located in the parish. St. Peter's parish contains the major villages of Salem, Frith's, St. Peter's, Cudjoe Head and St. John's. The largest village in St. George's Parish is Harris. In addition to the airport, the parish contains the Central Uplands and the Windward estates where large quantities of cotton were grown until the late 1950's.

Changes in the population of Montserrat according to parish, are summarized in Table 2. A comparison between 1946 and 1960 indicates a general decline in the population of the island. This was experienced least in St. Anthony's and most in the largely agricultural parish of St. George's. A comparison between 1960 and 1970 shows a decrease in the rate of decline of Montserrat's population. During this decade, St. Anthony's saw a slight increase in its population, whereas St. George's continued its trend of heavy losses.

Population losses during the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's were associated with high rates of outmigration by Montserratians, especially

during the 1950's (Philpott, 1973:37). In the 1960's rates of emigration were much lower, as evidenced by a decline in the rate of population loss. One obvious explanation for the change is the introduction of severe restriction on immigration by the British government. Later I shall discuss the economic changes in Montserrat during the 1950's and 1960's in terms of their effect on the "push factor" in migration from the colony.

Table 3

Population by Age Group

	1911				1921			
Age Group	M	F	Total	%	M	F	Total	%
0-14	2626	2481	5107	42	2561	2433	4994	41
15-44	1616	3126	4742	39	1599	3127	4726	39
45+	1003	1344	2347	19	934	1466	2400	20
Total	5245	6951	12196	100	5094	7026	12120	100

	1946				1960			
Age Group	M	F	Total	%	M	F	Total	%
0-14	2881	2861	5742	40	2590	2608	5198	43
15-44	2652	3336	5988	42	1727	2219	3946	32
45+	828	1774	2503	18	1097	1952	3049	25
Total	6361	7971	14332	100	5414	6779	12193	100

	1970			
Age Group	M	F	Total	%
0-14	2285	2270	4555	40
15-44	1808	1849	3657	32
45+	1281	1965	3246	28
Total	5374	6084	11458	100

(Source: 1911, 1921, 1946, 1960 and 1970 Census Reports).

According to annual tabulations of births, deaths, emigration and immigration, the population in 1969 was estimated at 14,527 (Government of Montserrat, Report on Vital Statistics). A comparison between the 1969 estimates and the 1970 census results indicates a major error in the government's tabulation procedure. The discrepancy may, in fact, suggest much higher emigration levels than were generally accepted.

Finally, my data collected as part of a household survey in Corkhill suggest considerable internal migration during the 1960's. Differences in population changes between the parishes during the 1960's may, in part, be explained by this phenomenon.

Out of a total population of 11458 in 1970, 5374 were males and 6084 were females, resulting in a male-female ratio of 85:100[1]. As in other Eastern Caribbean islands and perhaps even more so, Montserrat has traditionally suffered from high migration rates (cf. Lowenthal and Comitas, 1962; Philpott, 1973). This suggests, inter alia, that even before the final collapse of its staple economy, during the 1950's, economic life in Montserrat had become dependent on the export of a "quasi-staple", in this case labor. The economic and political consequences of the high levels of emigration which characterized the 1940's and 1950's will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Suffice it, for the moment, to point to the fact that increasingly during the past two decades, females as well as males emigrated. A comparison of the male-female ratios in the 15-44 age group, between 1911, 1960 and 1970 bears this out (Table 4; see also Philpott, 1973:28-29).

The racial composition of Montserrat's population (see Table 5) has undergone certain interesting changes which reflect changing economic circumstances.

Table 4

Male-Female Ratios by Age Group

Age Group	1911	1960	1970
0-14	100:95	99:100	101:100
15-44	51:100	78:100	98:100
45+	75:100	51:100	65:100
Total	75:100	80:100	88:100

(Source: 1911, 1960 and 1970 Census Reports).

[1] A census was taken in 1970. At the time of this writing only a limited number of volumes of the report were available.

After it had steadily declined for one and a half centuries, the white population increased six-fold during the 1960's (see Table 5). The rapid decline of the colored population, since 1921, was no doubt due to emigration (Philpott, 1973:64). Perceptions on the part of census takers, as well as the tendency to equate status with color may have been factors also (Ibid.).

Table 5

Population* of Montserrat: Racial Composition

Year	Black**	White	Colored	Population
1678	992	2682	-	3674
1720	3772	1688	-	5446
1744	5945	1528	-	7473
1772	9834	1314	-	11148
1822	6274	421	685	7380
1828	6209	330	814	7353
1834	6401	312	827	7540
1871	6842	240	1611	8693
1881	7868	241	1974	10083
1891	9671	204	1887	11762
1911	10436	140	1620	12196
1921	9605	112	2503	12120
1946	13319	71	917	14333
1960	11632	51	287	12167
1970	11034	310	83	11458

Sources:
A. 1881, 1891, 1911, 1921, 1946, 1960 and 1970 Census Reports.
B. A variety of historical sources.

*Total population includes "other" and/or "unspecified" categories in some years.

**Slaves, prior to 1834.

3. INFRA-STRUCTURE

A network of paved roads, fifty miles long in 1966 and probably closer to seventy miles long at the present time, stretches from St. John in the North to O'Garros in the South, and from Plymouth in the West to the airport in the East. Additional shorter roads branch from the North-South and East-West trunk roads, particularly in the residential subdivisions that have been part of tourism development. Recent road construction has reflected changes in the infra-structure to suit an economy which is based increasingly on the presence of tourists. There is a recognized shortage of agricultural feeder roads.

Montserrat's connections with the outside are maintained by daily air services to Antigua, St. Kitts and Nevis, by telephone and wire services and by sea. The nearest international airport is in Antigua and the vast majority of tourists enter the island via this airport. Dependence on the Antigua airport also affects the agricultural economy. Since exported goods have to be transshipped, losses due to spoilage tend to be high.

The island lacks a deep water harbor. Smaller freighters, such as inter-island schooners can berth at a jetty; larger ships must anchor at the roadstead and are unloaded by lighter.

At the time of my field work, the island's water services were deficient, especially in the northern and southern areas. During dry spells, water rationing was instituted throughout the colony, except in the tourist subdivisions. The problem with the water service was primarily one of distribution and of storage. Since the time of my field work improvements have been made under a Canadian International Development Agency program.

Most of the island is served by electricity, which is operated jointly by the Government of Montserrat and the Caribbean Development

Agency, and by telephone (owned and operated by Cable and Wireless Ltd.). Two radio stations, one Government owned and operated, the other owned by British, German and French interests, serve the island and the region, respectively.

All schools, with the exception of two primary ones, are government schools. One private school caters primarily to non-Montserratian families, the other to the Montserratian upper strata. There were thirteen government primary schools in 1970, as well as a secondary school located on the outskirts of Plymouth. A junior high school and a vocational school were completed during the period of my fieldwork. Most of the primary schools are simple structures which lack partitions between the class areas and they tend to be poorly ventilated. The University of the West Indies is represented by a University Centre which is staffed by a resident tutor. The centre provides extension courses, lecture series and has library facilities. A public library is located nearby in the government complex.

SUMMARY

The above suggests that Montserrat's present economic potential is strongly influenced by its natural and cultural environments. Topography and soil conditions have always posed difficulties for the development of agricultural production for export. Leaving aside the very important socio-economic factors for a later discussion, the simple reality of today's situation is that the island's natural marginality in terms of the production of traditional export staples dictates a radical restructuring of the agricultural economy. Such restructuring might be in the direction of orchard crops and vegetables that are required by the

domestic and regional markets, as well as of root crops to which the natural environment is well suited. Traditionally, such crops were produced by households for domestic consumption. Marginally arable land could be used for livestock. The problem of agricultural restructuring, of development of domestic agriculture, involves also, and more crucially, the socio-economic environment and will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters.

To the casual observer, Montserrat's magnificent scenery and generally lush vegetation give a deceptive impression of the island's potential for tourism. The vast majority of the tourists who visit Montserrat do so with rather limited objectives in mind: to lie on the beach, splash in the water and soak up the sunshine. Time not spent in such manner is usually devoted to various forms of entertainment and to shopping. Such tourist islands as Antigua and Barbados, the Virgin Islands and the Bahamas, have given rise to all kinds of service industries that cater to the tourists. These territories have one important feature in common: the presence of long stretches of white sandy beaches. As pointed out earlier, Montserrat's coast line is relatively limited in this respect. The colony's natural potential for tourism can therefore be compared in only a very limited manner to that of its better endowed sister territories.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter I outline the history of Montserrat's plantation system until its collapse in the 1950's. My treatment of the island's history will be selective; I shall give particular attention to those features which are a specific manifestation of the general principles discussed in Chapter I.

1. ESTABLISHMENT AND EXPANSION OF PLANTATION AGRICULTURE IN MONTSERRAT

When Montserrat was first sighted by Europeans in 1493, during the second voyage of Columbus to the New World, the island was uninhabited. Pre-Columbian remains suggest that Montserrat was visited intermittently by groups of Caribs on expeditions northward from their settlements in Dominica and Guadeloupe (English, 1930:47). There are also some indications that pre-Arawak and Arawak peoples occupied the island in earlier times (Fergus, 1975:6).

European settlement probably began in 1632 when animosity between English and Irish settlers in St. Kitts led Governor Warner to move the

Irish catholics to Montserrat (English, 1930:29-33; Fergus, 1975:7-8)[1]. It is important to note that these early European settlers developed a yeoman style of farming in which a mixture of subsistence crops and cash crops were grown for export, including indigo, cotton and ginger, but especially tobacco (Sheridan, 1974:170). During these early years, before the introduction of sugar, Montserrat was a hinterland of settlement (Best, 1968:285-86). As Best points out, such a hinterland has a potential for development.

It is not entirely clear when sugar was first introduced to the island, but Colonial Office records indicate that by 1654 it was grown in considerable quantities (Fergus, 1975:12). The transition from hinterland of settlement to hinterland of exploitation, from yeoman farming to plantation agriculture, which accompanied the introduction of sugar, appeared to have been more gradual in Montserrat than elsewhere in the West Indies (Ibid.)[2]. But already in 1668, sugar was being used in the payment of fines, whereas previously tobacco had been used as currency (Higham, 1920:185). Moreover, in 1729 sugar monoculture had progressed to the point where up to 95% of all the cultivated land was devoted to the crop. In the same year, only twenty-three acres were planted in indigo and forty-seven acres in cotton (Sheridan, 1974:174, 182).

The process whereby land was re-allocated for plantation cultivation of sugar is reflected by steady increases in annual production, from 1,486 tons in 1700 to a historical peak of 3,150 tons in 1735 (Deerr,

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[1] Howard A. Fergus', History of Alliouagana, A Short History of Montserrat, even though it is in summary form, is the only comprehensive historical study of the island available. Mr. Fergus is Resident Tutor at the University Centre of the University of the West Indies in Montserrat and he is also Speaker of the Legislative Council.

[2] See Dunn (1972) for a general discussion of the establishment of sugar and slavery in the British West Indies.

1946:196). Such re-allocation of land inevitably involved the virtual dispossession of the yeoman farmers (Philpott, 1973:16, quoting a dispatch to the Lords of Trade).

During the period of expansion of plantation agriculture, the population of the island nearly tripled. But while the white segment of the population in mid-eighteenth century had decreased by almost one half since 1678, the slave population had increased by 800% during the same period (see Table 5).

At the high point of the expansion of Montserrat's plantation economy, the island was of considerable importance to metropolitan trade (Gibson, 1960:225). Roughly 6,000 acres were in sugar cane, according to the results of a survey submitted to the Board of Trade by Governor Matthew in 1729 (Sheridan, 1973:172). Considering current standards of agricultural potential, as well as patterns of landuse in the recent past (before the collapse of the plantation system) this is a phenomenal figure. One may conclude that during the period of expansion large tracts of marginally cultivable land were brought into production.

2. THE DECLINE OF SUGAR

The expansion of the first part of the seventeenth century was followed by economic decline during the second half. This was as true for Montserrat as it was for the other "older" islands.

> The slave system of the West Indies had always been a costly expedient. It was adopted at a time when sugar production was very profitable while labor was in short supply. This situation made the use of slaves economical. But slave labor was only cheap in terms of the apparent lack of alternative methods for carrying out the production of sugar in the West Indies. In the older islands especially the maintenance of the slave system was becoming increasingly expensive toward the end of the eighteenth century; sugar production was no longer so

> profitable as it had been, and instead of being faced with an acute shortage of labor, they were operating an agricultural system that depended upon the existence of a very numerous slave population (Goveia,1965:122).

The process of decline in Montserrat is illustrated by decreasing production figures, especially toward the end of the century (Table 6). As in the Virgin Islands, cotton production became more important than sugar (Ibid.). In spite of the fact that cotton cultivation did not require as many slaves per acre as did sugar production (Ibid.), the slave population continued to grow until 1772 and did not substantially decline until after the abolition of the slave trade. Goveia suggests that the overall density of the slave population of Montserrat, toward the end of the eighteenth century was 250 per square mile and approached those of St. Kitts and Antigua in sugar producing areas. She also feels that physical support for a large slave population contributed to the high cost of production and, hence, to a reduction of profitability (Ibid.).

With 6,000 acres in crop in 1735, the expansion of sugar cultivation had reached its ultimate limits. It required increasing numbers of slaves to produce a shrinking crop. One may conclude that one major reason for this was decreasing fertility of the land and the fact that no virgin land was left to bring into cultivation (Philpott 1973:16).

The decline of sugar in Montserrat, during the latter half of the eighteenth century was but an opening chapter to a story of steady deterioration which culminated in the virtual disappearance of sugar from the island at the end of the nineteenth century. At a very general level this was part and parcel of an overall process of West Indian economic decline that has been discussed by Williams (1944, 1970), by Beachey (1957) and most recently by Green (1976).

Montserrat seems to have been an extreme manifestation of depression

Table 6

Sugar Production of Montserrat, 1697-1927

Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons
1697-8	1,159	1739	1,805	1778	1,380	1845	563	1884	1,823
1699	891	1740	1,860	1779	1,876	1846	265	1885	1,127
1700	1,486	1741	1,871	1780	1,518	1847	413	1886	2,420
1701	1,074	1742	1,442	1792	1,217	1848	1	1887	1,702
1702	1,031	1743	2,078	1800	1,875	1849	2	1888	2,004
1703	707	1744	1,936	1807	1,507	1850	80	1889	1,754
1704	809	1745	1,643	1809	1,096	1851	383	1890	1,442
1706	440	1746	1,678	1810	1,928	1852	121	1891	1,131
1707	636	1747	1,027	1814	1,657	1853	---	1892	2,540
1708	334	1748	2,473	1815	1,226	1854	2	1893	1,660
1709	471	1749	2,462	1816	1,449	1855	22	1894	1,494
1710	853	1750	1,689	1817	1,560	1856	88	1895	711
1711	605	1751	1,833	1818	1,846	1857	14	1896	1,778
1712	885	1752	1,160	1819	1,859	1858	39	1897	813
1713	1,059	1753	2,655	1820	1,640	1859	168	1898	411
1714	468	1754	1,761	1821	1,664	1860	16	1899	363
1715	969	1755	2,550	1822	1,353	1861	145	1900	223
1716	1,338	1756	2,295	1823	1,223	1862	255	1901	579
1717	1,045	1757	2,311	1824	1,582	1863	332	1902	996
1718	1,078	1758	2,422	1825	982	1864	398	1903	870
1719	1,351	1759	1,627	1826	1,524	1865	780	1904	513
1720	1,331	1760	2,569	1827	985	1866	1,205	1905	239
1721	1,106	1761	2,708	1828	1,254	1867	686	1906	652
1722	1,444	1762	1,951	1829	1,361	1868	1,245	1907	60
1723	1.545	1763	2,035	1830	520	1869	1,281	1908	89
1724	922	1764	2,773	1831	1,032	1870	1,409	1909	84
1725	1,484	1765	2,004	1832	1,036	1871	1,417	1910	54
1726	1,302	1766	2,301	1833	1,042	1872	1,510	1911	88
1728	2,537	1767	1,840	1834	775	1873	1,806	1912	264
1729	1,816	1768	2,127	1835	1,331	1874	1,748	1913	55
1730	2,338	1769	2,556	1836	813	1875	2,474	1914	86
1731	1,662	1770	2,768	1837	604	1876	1,917	1915	74
1732	2,357	1771	2,094	1838	284	1877	1,380	1916	418
1733	2,359	1772	2,900	1839	618	1878	1,580	1917	294
1734	1,761	1773	1,689	1840	703	1879	2,427	1918	41
1735	3,150	1774	2,379	1841	675	1880	1,125	1919	61
1736	2,409	1775	1,963	1842	870	1881	1,631	1920	--
1737	1,488	1776	2,168	1843	611	1882	2,314	1921	30
1738	2,649	1777	905	1844	825	1883	1,688	1922	58
								1923	140
								1924	--
								1925	--
								1926	23
								1927	61
								1928 to 1965	Production negligible

Source: Deerr, 1949, Volume I:196

of the West Indian sugar industry during the early decades of the nineteenth century, prior to Emancipation. Table 6 demonstrates Montserrat's decreasing sugar production. The number of slaves on the island decreased from 9,500 to 5,026 between 1805 and 1834, while the total population decreased from 10,750 to 6,165 during the same period (Southey 1968/1827, Volume III). After the abolition of the slave trade it was evidently more profitable for many planters to simply sell their slaves, rather than use them on the estates. Moreover, the value of the slaves who remained depreciated. The average price paid per slave in compensation to Montserratian planters, at the time of Emancipation, was £15.5. This compares to the £17.2 received by planters in Nevis (Deerr, 1950:306).

The process of decline of Montserrat's sugar industry accelerated during the decades after Emancipation. Before I outline the island's post-Emancipation history (see section 4, below), a review of the pre-Emancipation system of stratification will be useful.

The plantation society, I argued earlier, is characterized by a rigid social structure which poses an obstacle to social transformation. Montserrat's system of social stratification derived its definition from the plantation system of agricultural production. It is the view here that it contributed to the perpetuation of dependence and coercive relations in spite of the formal freedom granted to the slaves.

3. SLAVERY AND STRATIFICATION IN MONTSERRAT

Earlier, reference was made to the fact that initial colonization of Montserrat and the Leeward Islands involved the growth of a yeoman style of agricultural production. The type of society which might have evolved around the production of tobacco and cotton, and other crops, would have

been radically different from what developed as a result of sugar and slavery. The growth of domestic agriculture would have been accompanied by the development of a social structure lacking the rigidity of the plantation society (cf. Ortiz, 1947). Goveia has discussed the rise of the slave societies of the Leeward Islands following the introduction of sugar. Slavery, she writes, "...was, in origin, essentially an economic expedient, adopted to meet the challenge of a shortage in the supply of plantation labor" (1965:104). While Montserrat seems to have lagged behind the other islands in the transition from yeoman farming to plantation agriculture, it shared with the others an insatiable demand for labor. It may, in fact, have been the lack of sufficient labor which lay behind Montserrat's slower pace of transition. Higham, for example, reports that "it was a bitter complaint of Montserrat that lack of sufficient labor prevented the development of the sugar industry despite the suitability of its soil" (1921). This is also indicated by the establishment of direct trading links between the Leeward Islands and the Slave Coast, in which rum was traded for slaves. Fergus (1975:17) suggests that in 1722 Montserrat was used as a depot in the trade between the Leeward Islands and West Africa.

Tylor characterized slavery as "the greatest of all divisions, that between freeman and slave" (1946/1881, II:156). This greatest of all divisions, although its origin in the New World was in economic expediency, was "much more than a matter of economics" (Mintz, 1974:62). I shall turn to Elsa Goveia's work on the slave society of the Leeward Islands to provide a summary of Montserrat's system of stratification before Emancipation.

Montserrat's slave society was a political, economic and social

organization that was based on the use of slave labor in production of export staples. In this section my concern is chiefly with what Goveia calls the "Ranks of Society" (1965:Chapter IV) and with the politico-legal system that maintained the ranking order. This order was made up of three groups, Whites, Free-Coloreds and Slaves. The relationship between persons of different rank was chiefly determined by color and legal criteria. The three groups, however, were far from homogeneous. Whites, for example, ranged from owners of estates and managers to professionals and merchants. Goveia states that toward the end of the eighteenth century there was a seculat trend toward greater homogeneity of the white population.

> With its members decreasing, the white population was tending to become more homogeneous in its composition. Differences of class still persisted among the whites. But the way up from one class to another was shorter, and the prospects of rising were more encouraging than they had been earlier (1965:208).

The slaves constituted the vast majority of the population, 9,834 in 1772, out of a total of 11,148. This group was made up of a minority of privileged slaves whose status was higher than that of the remainder, the field slaves. The Free-Coloreds, either freeborn or manumitted, existed as an intermediate group between Whites and Slaves. The Free-Coloreds were a group of growing numerical and socio-economic importance, especially when the Whites, who had given rise to them, dwindled in numbers as the plantation economy expanded and then declined.

Occupations of the Free-Coloreds also tended to be intermediate between those of the Whites and those of the Slaves. Although a few became slave owners themselves, most worked as hucksters, small shop keepers, clerks and tradesmen (Ibid.:228).

The three groups which formed the ranks of Montserrat's slave

society during the eighteenth century were well defined and distinct from each other.

> (Whites, Free-Coloreds and Slaves were) divided into separate groups, clearly marked off from each other by their differences of legal and social status, of political rights and economic opportunity and racial origin and culture. The existence of these separate groups is so striking that it tends to obscure the existence of the community of which they were all part. But this community did exist and its fundamental principles of inequality and sub-ordination based on race and status were firmly impressed upon the lives of all its members. It was these basic principles embodying the necessities of the West Indian slave system, which determined the ordering of the separate groups as parts of the community and held them all together within a single social structure (Ibid.:249-50).

The slave system was supported by legal and political means. Law and custom defined the rights in persons according to the principles of English Common Law, which provided the requisite legal justification of slavery (Ibid.:152-53). But, slaves were not simply property but human beings:

> Further laws were necessary to cover those areas of conduct in which, if the slave was property, he was also a specific kind of property, possessing the faculty of activity and, above all, the faculty of will (Ibid.)[1].

The laws referred to were the slave codes which were implemented in all West Indian plantation societies. The politico-legal institutions which developed in Montserrat prior to Emancipation, effectively served

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[1]This constitutes a contradiction, the so-called essentialist-humanist contradiction, between the slave as property and the slave as a human being. Both the need for violence and for racist ideology in any slave society may be related to this contradiction. However, as Hindess and Hirst (1975:129) have recently pointed out, a further contradiction exists in slavery as a mode of production, between the slave as a form of property and as a direct producer. It is this contradiction which the authors feel is responsible for the underdevelopment of the means of production and the need for coercion.

to maintain the slave system and to interrelate, yet separate, the two great classes of the slave society. It should be remembered that racist ideology was a crucial dimension of the superstructure that evolved to maintain the system (Williams, 1944).

Acts which stipulated severe punishment to delinquent slaves were passed by the Montserrat Assembly early in the development of the plantation society. The acts passed in the late seventeenth century indicate that theft and "disturbance of the peace" and the striking of a white person were major concerns and invited cruel punishment. As Fergus (1975:19) writes,

> The acts of the Assembly were geared essentially to protect planters' interests and keep their human property in strict subordination.

Although Montserrat and the other Leeward Islands were united into a loose federation, it was the individual island Legislatures which represented the prime political institutions that maintained the slave system. Montserrat, like most of the other islands of the federation, had its own nominated Council and elected Assembly. A political oligarchy of white colonists controlled these institutions.

> The group of white colonists who governed the islands did their best to build up their own local power and to resist the restraints and policies imposed from outside - behaving generally as slave owners, bred in the exercise of almost unlimited authority over others, might be expected to behave. As a result, the political system of the islands was dominated by a strong tradition of local autonomy, by a habitual opposition to external direction and interference, and by the solidarity of a small ruling class, made up of people with an interest in slave-holding, who were determined to entrench their control of the whole society as far as the political means at their disposal would allow (Goveia, 1965:53).

Its success is testified to by a comparative lack of rebelliousness of the slaves in Montserrat. No doubt other factors played an im-

portant role, such as the small size of both the society and the plantations, as well as the fact that no 'hinterland' existed in which runaways could find a safe haven. There is only one report of a slave insurrection. It was planned for St. Patrick's Day in 1768, but was foiled when a woman slave reported the conspiracy. Its significance, however, lay in the fact that manumitted slaves took part in preparation.

> The day (for the insurrection) was ideally chosen since Montserrat would have been commemorating St. Patrick's Day. The slaves within Government House were to have secured the swords of the gentlemen while the rest of the faction were to fire into the house from without. Included in the conspiracy were negroes, mulattoes and free slaves. This indicated an unusual solidarity among these underprivileged groups (Fergus, 1975:17).

This participation by members of the free-colored group raises an important question regarding their position in the ranking system as well as the political, legal and ideological means used to maintain it. The status of the Free-Coloreds was determined partly by their legal freedom (i.e., they were not slaves) and partly by the fact that color was one of the means employed to maintain the distinction between free men and slaves.

> To preserve the property of the masters in their slaves, the island legislatures were willing to risk the freedom of the people of color. To preserve the subordination of their slaves, the white inhabitants generally were determined to continue the subjection of the whole colored population under their control. The social and political inferiority of free persons of color was considered to be a necessary bulwark of the slave system (Goveia, 1965:222).

Yet as a group the Free-Coloreds became increasingly important to the plantation society in terms of their role in the economy. This became more acute as Whites left the island due to economic decline. Many Coloreds reached the point at which they could satisfy the property re-

quirements for the franchise. Consequently, they increasingly struggled for political emancipation (Ibid.:97).

This rather lengthy discussion of Montserrat's pre-Emancipation system of social ranking makes it possible to analyze the dynamics of continuity and change in Montserrat during the post-Emancipation era. Stavenhagen's conceptualization of class and stratification (1975) provides the necessary means to this end. In summary and following Lenin, we may define classes as,

> ...large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and, consequently, by the dimension and mode of acquiring the share of the social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy (Lenin, 1952, Volume II:224).

Classes, then, are specific to a historically particular economic structure. They exist in relation to other classes in that economic structure and their inter-relationship is characterized by exploitation, opposition and domination.

In Montserrat, prior to Emancipation, the class structure was defined by relations to the means of production applied in plantation agriculture, based on slave labor. Accordingly, the two classes which fundamentally formed the class structure were planters and slaves. The relationship was, as we saw above, characterized by exploitation and domination; the classes were at once complementary and in opposition.

The ranks of the pre-Emancipation plantation society, as discussed by Goveia (1965), constituted a structure which, although it was related to the class structure, was also fundamentally different from it. To relate rank to class I shall use Stavenhagen's concept of stratification.

Stratification refers to a hierarchy of strata, or status groups. Assignment to a particular status group is according to one or a number of descriptive criteria, such as occupation, income, education, lifestyle, skin color, ethnicity, and many others. It is therefore clear that depending on the social, economic or political context, or on the criteria for evaluation, differing stratifications may be recognized (Stavenhagen, 1975: 19-25). For example in Montserrat, prior to Emancipation, one could recognize Whites, Coloreds and Blacks, based on an evaluation of skin color. Within each such status group, however, stratifications existed that were based on occupational valuation.

Stavenhagen suggests that in contrast to social classes, which are analytical categories, social strata are descriptive, static categories (Ibid.:26). What then is the relationship between classes and strata, between class structure and stratification? Planters and slaves as complementary yet opposing classes in the plantation society, based on slave labor, formed a system of stratification. Relations to the means of production determined the different <u>attributes</u> as well as the differential <u>evaluation</u> of those attributes, associated with each class, be they color or custom. Moreover, through time, the attributes of class and their evaluation became justifications and rationalizations for and of class relations.

> Stratification frequently represents what we may call social "fixations" or "projections", which at times become legally codified and in any case psychologically internalized, as reflections of certain social relations of production as expressed in class relationships. Other secondary or accessory factors (e.g., religious or ethnic ones) may also play a part in these social fixations and may act to reinforce the stratification system. At the same time these factors perform the sociological function of "liberating" the stratification from its ties to the economic base. In other words, they tend to maintain the stratification system even when its economic base may have changed. As a result, stratifications

> may also be considered as justifications or rationalizations of the established economic system, that is, as ideologies (Ibid.:33).

Clearly, color stratification, especially as an ideology, i.e., as racism, very effectively served the purpose of justifying the class relationship between planters and slaves.

While the class structure of the pre-Emancipation plantation society can be understood in terms of the relationship between plantocracy and the slaves, the hierarchy of social strata to which it gave rise was more complex. On the one hand, it united all Whites, regardless of their relationship to the means of plantation production, into an upper stratum. On the other hand, it recognized a major and essential distinction between free persons; Whites and Free-Coloreds constituted distinct strata. As was pointed out earlier, the bifurcation of free persons into separate social groups served the maintenance of relations of production and the class structure.

The fixation effect of stratification has important consequences with respect to the process of social change. While the oppositions in class relations tend toward change, stratification has a conservative effect on the social order.

> ...stratification is an essentially conservative device of societal systems, whereas class oppositions and conflicts are basically dynamic. At the same time that social stratification divides society into groups, it has the function of integrating society and consolidating given socio-economic structures (Stavenhagen, 1975:34).

In summary, Montserrat's pre-Emancipation plantation system generated a specific two-class structure based on property rights in slaves. The class structure gave rise to a system of social ranking whose typical three stratum definition effectively served the fixation and justification of existing property relations.

The decline of the island's pre-Emancipation plantation system and the culmination of this process in the emancipation of the slaves qualitatively altered the economic system and, therefore, the class structure. Such changes, however, were accompanied by a continuity of other aspects of the social structure. It was the fixation of the class structure into social stratification which, I feel, represented this continuity and acted as a major obstacle to transformation after Emancipation.

4. MONTSERRAT'S PLANTATION SYSTEM AFTER EMANCIPATION

The history of plantation agriculture after Emancipation spans a period of just over one hundred years. During that period, sugar production first declined, then recovered during the last few decades of the nineteenth century, and finally disappeared as an export staple in the beginning of the present century. During the closing decades of the last century, lime juice briefly became an export staple of significance. After a devastating hurricane in 1899 production never recovered to the levels of the 1880's. It was the introduction of a new export staple, sea island cotton, in the beginning of the present century which enabled the plantation system of Montserrat to survive for another half century.

Two recent publications (Fergus, 1975 and Philpott, 1973) discuss the post-Emancipation period in some detail. It will suffice, therefore to dwell only on those developments which are of particular significance to the present analysis.

Emancipation and the maturation of economic trends which were referred to earlier, the declining role of the West Indian sugar colonies, radically altered the conditions for production in Montserrat. Although

Montserratian planters received a total of £103,556 in compensation for the loss of their slaves (Deerr, 1950, Volume II), they were in no position to recapitalize their works. This was due to the fact that most of the estates were heavily indebted and British creditors demanded immediate repayment of all outstanding debts. Moreover, rationalization of production techniques was inhibited by the fact that most of the available machinery was ill-suited to the topographical and soil conditions that are prevalent in Montserrat (Hall, 1971:54).

At the same time, operating costs increased and prices declined. The "squeeze" on profits was exacerbated by the migration of laborers from the colony to other West Indian territories, especially the "newer" sugar islands, such as Trinidad and Guiana (Philpott, 1973:19). This increased the cost of labor to the planters. In the absence of technological innovation, the decline in profits could only be met by depression of the cost of labor (cf. Bai,1972). This was done by restricting the freedom of the workers to withhold their labor. The specific means employed in Montserrat to this end were tenancy-at-will and the sharecropping or Metayer system.[1] Outdated production techniques and relations of production which contained measures of coercion remained part and parcel of Montserrat's plantation system until its collapse during the 1950's.

One additional ingredient in the planters' attempt to ensure an

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[1]Unlike the larger islands, Montserrat did not have any vacant land at the time of Emancipation, allowing for the establishment of free or independent villages. On the other hand, provision grounds (at higher and steeper slopes) were very extensive and not suitable for the cultivation of cane. This gave Montserratian workers an opportunity to earn money by growing food for the domestic market. It also allowed them to offer job work, instead of accepting day work (Hall, 1971:51).

adequate and cheap supply of plantation labor was to discourage ownership of productive land by the workers (Philpott, 1973:21). This had the additional effect of discouraging the establishment of a reconstituted peasantry (Mintz, 1974:Chapter 5; cf. Frucht, 1967).

With the gradual removal of preferential duties on West Indian sugar in 1846, and the commercial crisis in Britain of 1847, the sugar industry of Montserrat reached a state of virtual collapse. Many of the estates were simply abandoned or sold for arrears in taxes. The export of sugar reached such minimal quantities that between 1847 and 1849 not a single ship called on the island for freight (Davey, 1854).

Several factors contributed to a general recovery of the industry after 1860. Two of these, an increase in the price of sugar and the adoption by the island of the provisions under the Encumbered Estates Act, figured most prominently. As a result of the latter, twenty-six estates changed hands between 1865 and 1893, seven of which were acquired by the Sturge Brothers of Birmingham, England, a family which was to dominate life in Montserrat during subsequent decades (Beachey, 1957). The concentration of estates in fewer, but better capitalized, hands allowed for a rationalization of production (e.g., through the introduction of steam mills and diversification into limes).

The recovery of Montserrat's sugar industry lasted for less than three decades. The West Indian sugar market collapsed during the 1890's due to increased competition from beetsugar in the British market and the fact that the U.S. market began to favor domestic sugar (Williams, 1970: 383-87; Beachey, 1957). In addition, Montserrat had continued to produce muscovado sugar, a type of unrefined sugar that has a high content of molasses. The market for muscovado sugar virtually disappeared toward

the end of the last century. But unlike Antigua and St. Kitts, which were able to modernize their means of cane transportation and processing works, Montserrat's days as a sugar exporting island were numbered. Rough topography, small size and soil conditions precluded modernization of the industry. Small acreages of cane continued to be grown until 1968, when the antiquated works at Farrell's that produced rum for the local market, closed.

The collapse of the island's staple economy at the end of the last century led to large-scale emigration of Montserratians to other West Indian islands and to the United States. Migration by islanders has been discussed in detail by Philpott (1973) and it came to be an extremely important factor in economic, social and political life, especially after the Second World War. I shall discuss the economic and political impact of migration in relation to the collapse of Montserrat's plantation system in the 1950's, in Chapter IV. It should be pointed out, however, that at the turn of the century Montserrat conformed to Best and Levitt's model of a quasi-staple economy, which I referred to in Chapter I. Human labor had largely replaced sugar and limes as export staples.

The construction of the Panama Canal in 1905 further stimulated migration by Montserratians. As Philpott points out, this wave was followed by others, to the United States until 1924, to the Dutch islands in the 1930's and '40's and finally to the United Kingdom in the 1950's and '60's (Ibid.:27-29).

The establishment of a quasi-staple export was accompanied by the re-establishment of an externally propelled staple economy, as a result of the introduction of sea-island cotton in 1902. Sea-island cotton is a long staple variety which thrives in the ecological conditions found

in the Eastern Caribbean islands and it is especially suited for the manufacture of fine quality fabrics. The rapid increase in the acreages devoted to the crop, from 700 acres in 1903 to a maximum of 5,395 acres in 1941, demonstrates the extent to which the staple economy had been re-established (see Table 7). It should also be remembered that the island contains only approximately 7,000 acres of cultivable land.

Although cotton became increasingly a "peasant" crop (see Table 7), the re-establishment of the staple economy which it made possible, also meant a reinvigoration of the plantation system of production in Montserrat. Estates rapidly switched to cotton cultivation and processing, including the estates of the Montserrat Company of Birmingham which hitherto had concentrated primarily on the production of lime juice, but whose orchards had steadily deteriorated. The switch to cotton by the estates was, at least partly, financed through loans provided for by the Hurricane Loan Act of 1900 (Fergus, 1975:34).

Revival of the export staple economy also meant the perpetuation of class and race relations and relations of production which were part and parcel of the traditional plantation system. As before, a superstructure of status and power relations served the maintenance of the system.

Plantation production of sea-island cotton reached its peak during the Second World War when the Supply Ministry of the British Government, in the context of the war effort, guaranteed a favorable market for the crop (cf. Abbott, 1964:181). During the 1950's both acreages devoted to cotton and the share of the estates in total production steadily decreased (see Table 7). By the end of the decade, the last of the cotton estates discontinued cultivation and the estates of the Montserrat Company

Table 7

Cotton Acreage in Montserrat: Estate and Peasant Grown

1933-1961

Year	Estate Grown	% of Total	Peasant Grown	% of Total	Total Acreage
1933	1037	48	1145	52	2182
34	1963	63	1143	37	3106
35	2642	60	1796	40	4438
36	--	--	--	--	4550
37	2316	53	2036	47	4380
38	2558	57	1895	43	4453
39	2174	61	1367	39	3541
40	2758	60	1838	40	4596
41	3055	57	2340	43	5395
42	2588	58	1879	42	4467
43	2332	68	1673	42	4005
44	1922	63	1152	37	3074
45	2044	54	1726	46	3770
46	1446	57	1075	43	2521
47	1522	57	1137	43	2659
48	1846	54	1601	46	3447
49	1914	50	1191	50	3825
50	1707	48	1869	52	3576
51	1657	52	1514	48	3172
52	1737	47	1946	53	3683
53	786	40	1184	60	1970
54	1323	45	1624	55	2947
55	1005	44	1413	56	2508
56	--	No crop due to change in planting season			--
57	843	39	1342	61	2185
58	631	27	1719	73	2350
59	245	20	976	80	1221
1960	132	13	850	87	982

Source: Montserrat Cotton Industry Enquiry, 1953 (Beasley Report)
Montserrat Department of Agriculture: Annual Reports

and those of Wade Plantations were sold to speculators and developers. After almost three hundred years, Montserrat's plantation system had come to an end.

The specific circumstances and causes of the post-war decline and collapse of plantation agriculture in Montserrat will be analyzed in detail in Chapter IV. It should be mentioned here, however, that this process also created the conditions in which tourism could be successfully introduced. The availability of idle and cheap estate lands, cheap labor, and the general state of the economy, as well as the existing social structure, constituted those conditions.

5. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AFTER EMANCIPATION

Earlier it was suggested that the social ranking order of pre-Emancipation of Montserrat constituted a structure which effectively served the maintenance of the slave system. In the previous section I discussed, among other things, the perpetuation of dependence and coercion in plantation relations of production.

The perpetuation of dependence and coercion in relations of production was made possible by the fixation effect of stratification. Thus, while Emancipation qualitatively changed relations of production, the attributes of rank and their evaluation, which were the consequences of antecedent relations of production, enabled the former masters to reintroduce restrictions on their workers. Political power and racist ideology played a crucial role in this process. Alternately, the reintroduction of coercion had a perpetuating effect on social stratification.

In sum, the pre-Emancipation system of stratification contributed to a perpetuation of dependency and coercion in relations of production

without which the plantation system could not have survived. This, in turn, contributed to the perpetuation of attributes of rank and their evaluation after Emancipation which had their origin in the slave system.

The changes in the relations of production that were effected by the freeing of the slaves coupled to the decline of Montserrat's sugar industry which was discussed earlier, created a situation in which the hegemony of the plantocracy could be challenged. The upward mobility, however limited, which post-Emancipation conditions had created for the Coloreds and the Blacks, resulted in members of these strata acquiring the material requirements for the franchise. The dwindling numbers of resident Whites became concerned about the possibility of losing control over the formal political institutions and, hence, their control of the workers.

After having abolished the Council or upper chamber in 1852, the planters abolished the Legislative Assembly in 1866 and petitioned the Imperial Government for the institution of Crown Colony government. Under such a system, with a nominated Council, the planters expected to be able to perpetuate their traditional oligarchic position (Hall, 1971: Chapter VII). The planters' success in this respect is testified to by the fact that they continued to dominate government until 1952 when the British Government introduced universal suffrage to the island.

The extent to which the old order, albeit one purged from slavery, was re-established, as well as the consequences of this for development, are summarized by Hall:

> In the years between the emancipation and 1870 the greatest tragedy of all lay in the officially acknowledged abandonment of expectation and promise for the ex-slaves and their descendants. In 1834 to 1838 they had been freed from the tyranny of the estates. After 1846 they were being pressed to

> return to it of their own accord. By 1870 it was clear that few people in authority would admit that the working-class Negro was equipped to contribute anything but his labour to the society in which he lived and was numerically predominant. Unable to care for himself, as it was assumed, he would have to be cared for; and so the patronage of the British government could readily be substituted for the patronage of the planters. But such patronage, no matter by whom exercised, thwarts the will and closes the way to economic, political and administrative enterprise and participation. In the 1860's it was assumed that the mass of people in the British Caribbean could contribute nothing of value in those fields and that assumption is only now, a century later, gradually being worn away (Ibid.:180).

SUMMARY

The discussion in this section demonstrated that the history of Montserrat is dominated by a succession of phases, of expansion and decline, of its plantation system. In this sense Montserrat conforms to the general model proposed by Best and Levitt which was outlined in Chapter I. We saw that expansion and decline of plantation production of export staples took place within the context of dependence relations with the metropolis. This relation was expressed within the colony by the dominance-subordinate relationship between export staple production and domestic production. In other words, the peripheralization of the colony was expressed by peripheralization within the colony of the domestic economy. For this reason, collapse of staple production leaves the economy in a state of extreme underdevelopment and vulnerability to the introduction of a new staple. A crucial factor in this process is the rigid social structure which accompanied the expansion of staple production and which remained after its collapse.

The switch from sugar to sea-island cotton, in the beginning of the present century, was a concrete example of the dynamic of this pro-

cess. The 1960's saw a variant of this dynamic; when a staple was replaced by a quasi-staple; when tourism supplanted cotton.

CHAPTER IV

COLLAPSE OF MONTSERRAT'S PLANTATION SYSTEM

The question I shall try to answer in this chapter may be stated in the following way: Why was the plantocracy unable to weather adverse market conditions for the export staple during the post-war period and maintain the viability of the plantation system of production? I shall argue that for the first time in the island's history the planters were unable to successfully marshall the coercive means which had been at their disposal since Emancipation. These coercive means, applied when necessary to assure an abundant supply of dependable and cheap labor, were part of the politico-legal superstructure that was generated by, and served to maintain, the relations of staple production.

After the profitable years of the Second World War, estates increasingly faced the twin problems of rising costs of production and falling prices for sea-island cotton. Together they "(reduced) the earning potential of the industry and (drove) estates out of business" (Abbott, 1964:185). The accounts for two of the most efficient producers, Wade Plantations Ltd. and the Montserrat Company Ltd., demonstrate that except for the Korean War period, there were few years during the 1950's when any profits were made. By the end of the decade the only cotton produced in Montserrat was grown by independent households.

A number of post-War developments directly concerning the relations between metropolis and hinterland created conditions within the hinterland which affected its politico-legal structure. These developments were large-scale migration of Montserratians to Britain, the receipt of remittances by migrants' relatives at home and changes in the constitution of the colony which were instituted by the metropolis and which allowed for representative government and universal adult suffrage.

Together these enabled the plantation workers to effect changes in the relations of production on which the plantation system had rested since Emancipation. Given the underdevelopment of the means of export staple production changes in the relations of production quickly spelled the end of the plantation system.

The collapse of the plantation system created conditions favorable for the introduction of tourism. Cheap land and labor[1] and the absence of white sandy beaches worked in favor of investment in residential tourism. Once more, Montserrat underwent the renewal of its dependence relationship and consequent renewal of the underdevelopment process. Moreover, the very conditions that represented a potential for social and economic transformation also made possible the re-establishment of the obstacles to transformation.

1. POST-WAR MARKET CONDITIONS FOR SEA-ISLAND COTTON

Historically, Britain has been the main market for sea-island cotton. Baled cotton lint from Montserrat and other West Indian cotton

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[1] Although the cost of labor was high in terms of the production of an export staple by means of the plantation system, it was low relative to the cost of domestic labor in North America.

producing territories was shipped to the United Kingdom for processing and manufacturing.

Sea-island cotton is a longstaple type of cotton with a very fine fibre which is specifically suitable for the manufacturing of luxury garments.

> Sea-island cotton is in a class by itself, and for quality of yarn and length of staple, there is hardly any substitute. The nearest natural fibre would seem to be Egyptian long staple .... (Abbott, 1964:187).

Before the Second World War Montserratian planters and merchants marketed their cotton individually through brokers in England. This pre-War marketing arrangement is described by Shenfield:

> The bales of cotton were received at Liverpool, sampled, and left on the quay. The samples were sent to the sale room of the brokers, who reported upon their quality, and the quantity of each quality to the various buyers with whom they were in contact. There was no grading of the post-war kind or any of the kind which had long been established for American and other growths. Such consignment was dealt with on its merits (which was what called for brokers' expert knowledge) and each consignment was sold "at best". Owing to the character of the market, and in the late '20's and '30's owing to the depressed state of trade in Lancashire, consignments were often held at Liverpool for long periods before they could be sold. The price paid by the buyer was ex-quay, so that all warehousing, insurance, sampling, weighing and similar charges as well as the brokerage were born by the shipper. On receipt of the purchase price, all these charges and the brokerage were first deducted and the net balance was paid to the shipper (quoted by Abbott, 1964:181).

Cotton grown by the household producers was marketed through planters or merchants and was subject to additional deductions (see following section).

In 1941 the British Government through its Ministry of Supply became the sole purchaser of cotton at set prices. From 1941 until 1947 there existed a guaranteed market for Montserratian sea-island cotton at a

price of 48 cents a pound of clean lint. These market conditions induced Montserratian growers to expand production to an historical maximum of 5,395 acres in 1941. The tremendous expansion of the cotton acreage, however, was followed by significant declines in subsequent years. This was due to the fact that while the Ministry of Supply purchased all available cotton, prices did not change during the five years of the regime.

In 1948 a Raw Cotton Commission was established to take over the marketing of cotton from the Ministry of Supply. This arrangement lasted until 1952 when all trade in cotton was returned to private hands. As Abbott points out,

> Since the restoration of cotton to the trade, West Indian cotton has been sold mainly to the two firms of Messrs. Fine Spinners and Doublers, and Messrs. William Heaton and Sons. These two firms subsequently merged themselves into a buying subsidiary known as Deltapine. Except for the year of 1954 when the entire crop was sold to a French spinner, Messrs. Deltapine purchased at least 64 per cent of each year's crop of Sea-Island cotton between 1952/53 and 1958/59. At the end of the 1958/59 crop, however, Messrs. Deltapine informed the West Indies Sea-Island Cotton Association (Inc.) that they were no longer prepared to negotiate forward purchases of West Indian Sea Island cotton and involve themselves in storage and finance charges, but would rather purchase their supplies of cotton as and when they required them and at ruling market prices (1964:181).

The stability of cotton prices during the war gave way to the sharp fluctuations which reflected the influence of the market. The position of West Indian cotton in the world market after the Second World War was primarily influenced by two main factors. First, the appearance of synthetic fibres with qualities that are similar, and in some ways superior, to those of cotton meant a weakening of the competitive position of sea-island cotton. The fact that synthetic fibres were cheap meant

that the position of the crop in the world market had a tendency to become even more specialized. The low demand which such a specialization suggests was compounded by the fact that consumers of fine quality garments have been willing to accept textiles made from lower priced Egyptian long staple cotton (Ibid.). Consequently, a situation developed after the Second World War in which "the prices which West Indian producers receive for their clean lint move in sympathy with the prices obtained for other long staple cotton from such sources as Egypt and the Sudan" (Ibid.:180). Abbott points out that market prices for Egyptian long staple cotton are largely the result of "market policies and manipulation practised by these large producers, which renders the West Indies even more susceptible to market conditions" (Ibid.).

Table 8 shows that during the 1950's (excepting the very high price of $1.34 per pound of clean lint paid during the Korean War) cotton prices increased very little, while wage rates for plantation workers increased by 100% between 1950 and 1959.

2. RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION IN MONTSERRAT'S COTTON INDUSTRY

Relations of production in Montserrat's cotton industry represented a continuation of those which developed after Emancipation and which served to maintain export staple production by means of the plantation system. Those production relations have been variously characterized as "serfdom" by some (Fergus, 1975) and as "feudalism" and "slavery" by others (Union submissions in the Malone Report, 1958). They essentially refer to patterns of ownership of and control over factors of production applied in the production of cotton and resulting relations of dependency and coercion between planters and producers. My discussion will deal with

Table 8

Wage Rates for Plantation Workers in Montserrat
and Price F.O.B. per Pound of Clean Lint
1945-1962

Year	Daily Wage Rate		Price per Pound of Clean Lint
	Men	Women	
1945	-	-	0.48
46	-	-	-
47	-	-	0.75
48	0.50 - 0.56	0.32 - 0.40	0.89
49	0.60 - 0.64	0.40 - 0.44	0.90
50	0.60 - 0.72	0.40 - 0.48	1.05
51	0.66 - 0.80	0.44 - 0.52	1.34
52	0.90 - 0.96	0.60 - 0.64	-
53	0.90	0.60	0.92
54	1.00	0.66	1.07
55	-	-	-
56	1.00	0.66	-
57	1.08	0.72	1.16
58	1.14	0.78	1.19
59	1.30	0.90	1.07
60	-	-	0.91
61	1.57	1.06	1.06

Sources: Montserrat, 1953; Montserrat, 1958
Montserrat: Report for the Years 1961 and 1962
Montserrat Department of Agriculture: Annual Reports

four dimensions: ownership of land, ownership of ginneries, control of marketing and credit, and means of controlling workers.

Cultivation of cotton was carried out in all parts of the island where arable land was available, except in the Central Pastures and Gardens and in the Higher Farmlands (see Figure 2, Chapter II) where altitudes and moisture levels are too high for this crop. Landownership throughout the island was monopolized by the estates, the names of which still appear on maps of the island (see Figure 3).

In the nineteenth century some agricultural workers and craftsmen acquired plots of land, especially in marginally productive parts of estates. The extent of small holding in mid-nineteenth century is reflected by the fact that increasing numbers of ex-slaves were able to meet the property requirements of the franchise (cf. Philpott, 1973). This process was aided by economic depression and the resulting migration of Montserratian workers. The former made land available, the latter enabled returning migrants to purchase plots. Consequently, small resident proprietorship became increasingly widespread, especially in those parts of the island where sugar and cotton cultivation was more costly due to ecological conditions.

By mid-twentieth century the effects of this process could be seen specifically in the extreme fragmentation of estates and former estates in the northern and northwestern parts of the island. Only a few estates, such as Blakes and Lookout remained in tact. Secondly, virtually all estates in this region had been purchased by colored and black planters (from hereon referred to as 'Montserratian' planters) merchants and small holders, from former white proprietors. Table 9 indicates that this process was well underway in the 1920's, i.e., after the switch to sea-island cotton. In the early 1950's it had spread to other parts of the island

FIGURE 3: MONTSERRAT; PRINCIPLE ESTATES

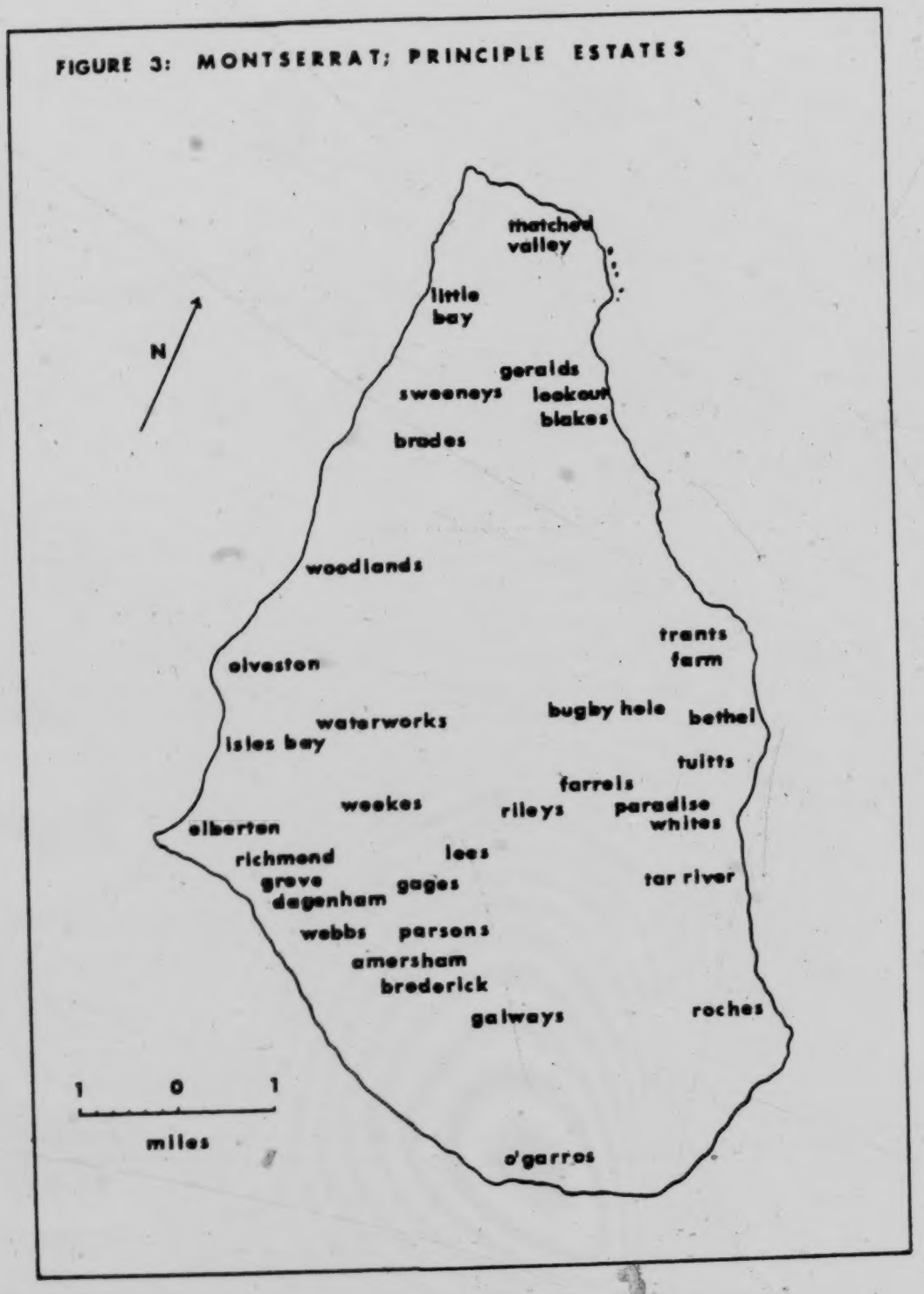

Table 9

Changes in Estate Ownership
1920's-1950's

Estate	Acreage	Owner (s) 1920's		1950's	
Little Bay	115			E. T. Edgecombe	MtPM
Little Bay	68			Catherine Weekes	?
Thatched Valley	31			Thomas A. Samuel	MtS
Thatched Valley	18			William H. Allen	"
Thatched Valley	18			Keziah Greenaway	"
Thatched Valley	18			Jerimiah Greenaway	"
Thatched Valley	24			Nathaniel Gerald	"
Weekes	25	A. Pencheon	WP	R.H. Howes	WP
Weekes	140	"	"	Heirs of Pencheon	WPA?
Barzeys	82	J. Allen	MtP	A. H. Allen	MtPM
Barzeys	90	"	"	Catherine Allen	MtP
Brinns Ghaut	59			O.R. Kelsick	MtPM
Brinns Chaut	20			M.S. Osborne	MtPM
Providence	50	Greenaway?		C.D. Fenton	"
Reids Hill	240	Griffin	WP	Griffen	WP
Bugby Hole	310	"	"	"	"
Farrell's	216	"	"	"	"
Paradise	360	"	"	B & O Maginley	"
Long Field	310	"?	"	Griffin	"
Gages	372	Howes	WP	Howes	WP
Woodlands	305	Montserrat Co.	CA	Howes	"
Trants	292	Howes	WP	Howes	"
Riley's & Streatham	348	Howes	"	Howes	"
Galways	166	C.W. Piper et al	"	C.H. Meade	MtPM
Galways & Codrey	264	"		J.H. Jeffers	"
Harris	50	Kirwan	"	Heirs of Kirwan	WP
Eastman's Land	550	"	"	"	"
Waterwork	500	"	"	"	"
Old Road	237	"	"	"	"
Farms	300	A.B. Wade	WPA	"	WPA
Fergus Mountain	200	Kirwan	WP	"	WP
Gerald's	76			Joseph Kirwan	MtP
Blakes & Lookout	1113	J.T. Allen	MtP	Lee Bros.	"
Richmond	686	Montserrat Co.	CA	Montserrat Co.	CA
Elberton	525	"	"	"	"
Olveston	975	"	"	"	"
O'Garro's	1201	"	"	"	"
Isles Bay	222	"	"	"	"
Grove	16	"	"	Government	
Mulcares	40			Osborne	MtPM
Tar River	330	Osborne	MtPM	"	"
Lees	233	R.C. Church		R.C. Church	
Roaches	700	Howes	WP	Roaches Syndicate	WPA?
Whites, Hermitage Bethel & Tuitt	1442	A.B. Wade	WPA	Wade Plantations	WPA
Dagenham	203	"	"	Heirs of Wilkin	"
Sweeneys	100	J. Allen	MtP	A.H. Allen	MtPM

Table 9 (con't)

Estate	Acreage	Owner (s) 1920's		1950's	
Underwood	76			J.B. Allen	MtP
Old Quaw	20			"	"
Webbs	158	A.B. Wade	WPA	Government	St
Brades	100	McPherson	WPA?	?	?
Spring & Broderick's	609	Champion Jones	WPA?	Government	St
Amersham & Parson's	298	"	"	"	"

W-White; C-Corporate; M-Merchant; P-Planter; Mt-Montserratian (as distinct from W and including both Coloreds and Blacks); A-Absentee; S-Small holder; St-Settlers.

Identification of owners is according to both records and interviews; in some cases (idicated by ?), ownership could not be established or owners could not be identified.

Sources: Watkins, F. H., Handbook of the Leeward Islands, 1924; Montserrat Cotton Industry Inquiry, 1953.

and included such estates as Galways, Galways and Codrey, in the Southwest and Tar River in the East. By the end of the decade, Weeke's in the West and Roaches in the Southeast had also been purchased by Montserratian merchants.

Except where fragmentation of estate property took place, the transfer of estates from Whites to Montserratians had little effect on relations of production. Table 10 shows that during the 1940's most of the cotton in the Northern districts was produced by small proprietors and tenants (peasants), thus reflecting the extent to which the plantation system of production had been supplanted in this region. In contrast, in the Windward and South and South Leeward districts comparatively less cotton was produced by small proprietors and tenants and more by the estates, using either wage workers or share croppers. In these districts the land was still overwhelmingly in the hands of the plantocracy, either absentee or white residential. In addition, it can be computed from the information in Table 10 that the Windward and South and South Leeward districts contained on the average 69% of the cotton acreage on the island during the six years from 1945-1950.

The foregoing showed that during the early post-war years relations of production in the cotton industry were those that had traditionally obtained in Montserrat's export staple economy, with certain modifications. Apart from the limited transfer of estates from Whites to Montserratian planters and merchants, access to land by household producers (either as small proprietors or as tenants) had increased considerably in the northern parts of the island. It was in this region, as well, that most of the estates initially acquired by Montserratian planters and merchants were located.

Table 10

Distribution of Areas Planted with Cotton Under Various Systems of Land Tenure From 1945-1952
Montserrat

District	1945			1946			1947			1948		
	No. of Holdings or Shares	% Acres	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	% Acres	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	% Acres	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	% Acres	Acres
Northern District:												
Estate	-	14.4	111	-	14.2	47	-	21.1	95	-	17.3	83
Peasants	431	70.8	545	331	70.0	231	352	64.4	290	382	69.6	334
Share	188	14.8	114	112	15.8	52	106	14.5	65	168	13.1	63
Total	-	100.0	770	-	100.0	330	-		450	-		480
N. Leeward District:												
Estate	-	21.6	116	-	27.6	75	-	18.6	71	-	22.2	118
Peasants	518	58.7	315	356	55.9	152	428	57.7	220	563	59.0	314
Share	167	19.7	106	81	16.5	45	195	23.7	90	196	18.8	100
Total	-	100.0	537	-	100.0	272	-	100.0	381	-	100.0	532
Windward District:												
Estate	-	31.2	328	-	40.2	305	-	34.8	275	-	31.3	304
Peasants	543	28.1	295	386	22.1	168	412	25.8	204	531	27.3	265
Share	720	40.7	427	418	37.7	286	489	39.4	311	615	41.7	401
Total	-	100.0	1050	-	100.0	759	-	100.0	790	-	100.0	970
South and South Leeward District:												
Estate	-	35.9	507	-	32.9	382	-	43.6	453	-	32.5	476
Peasants	1024	40.4	571	818	45.2	524	756	40.8	423	934	47.0	688
Share	679	23.7	335	423	21.9	254	249	15.6	162	487	20.5	301
Total	-	100.0	1413	-	100.0	1160	-	100.0	1038	-	100.0	1465
Summary:												
Estate	-	28.2	1062	-	32.1	809	-	33.6	894	-	28.5	981
Peasants	2516	45.8	1726	1891	42.6	1075	1948	42.8	1137	2410	46.4	1601
Share	1754	26.0	982	1034	25.3	637	1039	23.6	628	1466	25.1	865
Total	-	100.0	3770	-	100.0	2521	-	100.0	2659	-	100.0	3447

Table 10 (con't)

District	1949			1950			1951			1952		
	No. of Holdings or Shares	%	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	%	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	%	Acres	No. of Holdings or Shares	%	Acres
Northern District:		Acres			Acres			Acres			Acres	
Estate	-	18.9	127	-	21.4	130	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasants	491	69.0	464	428	66.4	404	-	-	-	-	-	-
Share	172	12.1	81	149	12.2	74	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-		672			608						
N. Leeward District:												
Estate	-	25.4	152	-	27.6	148	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasants	670	60.7	363	643	63.9	343	-	-	-	-	-	-
Share	168	13.9	83	55	8.5	46	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	100.0	598	-	100.0	537						
Windward District:												
Estate	-	30.7	358	-	28.6	334	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasants	625	38.5	448	645	42.8	500	-	-	-	-	-	-
Share	663	30.8	359	334	28.6	334	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	100.0	1165	-	100.0	1168						
South and South Leeward District:												
Estate	-	35.1	488	-	36.4	460	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peasants	924	45.8	636	800	49.2	622	-	-	-	-	-	-
Share	337	19.1	266	337	14.4	181	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	100.0	1390	-	100.0	1263	-	-	-	-	-	-
Summary:												
Estate	-	29.4	1125	-	30.0	1072	-	30.8	978	-	26.5	976
Peasants	2710	50.0	1911	2516	52.3	1869	-	47.7	1514	-	52.8	1946
Share	1340	20.6	789	875	17.7	635	-	21.5	680	-	20.7	761
Total	-	100.0	3825	-	100.0	3576	-	100.0	3172	-	100.0	3683

Source: Montserrat, 1953

The increase in household producer involvement in cotton production and the transfer of estates to Montserratian planters and merchants in the northern districts reflects the fact that much of the land there is only marginally suited to cotton cultivation. The districts take in most of the Northern Pastures and Gardens and part of the Western Hills. As Figure 2 shows, badly eroded and acidic shoal soils predominate. These conditions, coupled with undependable rainfall, make cotton cultivation considerably more risky than in the Windward and South and South Leeward districts.

During the late 1940's and early 1950's a number of estates in the South and South Leeward and Windward districts were sold by White planters. Galways, Galways and Codrey, Mulcares and Roaches were purchased by Montserratian planters and merchants. These transfers did not effect changes in relations of production and did not result in greater access to cotton land by household producers. Such was not the case in the acquisition of a number of estates by the Government of Montserrat in 1949 as part of a land settlement scheme. The five estates involved totaled just over 1,000 acres, 400 of which could be used for cotton cultivation. This area was cultivated by 292 settlers on plots which averaged 1.4 acres in size. According to the Beasly Report (Montserrat, 1953:29) only half of the settlers were full-time producers. Moreover, the settlement policy which was followed on the Government estates appears to have reflected and compounded the fragmentation of land on the private estates in the North. Table 11 demonstrates the extent of this fragmentation in 1957. In interpreting the figures, it should be remembered that a considerable portion of the total acreage listed was, in reality, non-arable land.

Another important dimension of relations of production in Montserrat's cotton industry was the ownership of ginneries by the estate

Table 11

Montserrat Farms by Size and Ownership, 1957

By Size	No.	Acres
0 - .99 acres	1,693	556
1 - 4.99 acres	1,302	2,244
5 - 49.99 acres	194	1,655
Over 50 acres	41	12,964
By Ownership		
Managed but not owned	174	8,522
Rented	893	2,320
Partly owned and partly rented	747	1,779
Owned	1,115	4,798
"Landless" farms+	301	---
Total	3,230	17,419

+The owners of "landless" farms have no appreciable acreage but graze stock on land not owned.

Source: Ministry of Natural Resources and Agriculture, Agricultural Statistics, Series 1, No. 2 "The Survey in Montserrat", Port-of-Spain, 1959:15.

owners. Again one may discern a continuation with past patterns of ownership and control when each estate normally had its own works for the processing of sugar cane. Thus, on those estates which switched from sugar to cotton in the early decades of the present century, cotton ginneries were constructed. These ginneries were used in the processing stage of the production process. The seed was separated from the lint which was packed into bales for transport to the metropolis.

The number of cotton ginneries was, however, much smaller than the number of cotton estates. This reflects a process of concentration of estates in a few hands. Thus, most of the cotton grown on the estates owned by the Montserrat Company was ginned at Richmond estate, just north of Plymouth. On this estate, facilities for the processing of cotton seed

into cakes and meal were also constructed. In similar fashion, cotton grown on the estates owned by the Wade family was processed at a ginnery located at Bethel. It can be observed in Table 9 that the Montserrat Company estates and the estates owned by the Wade Family (Wade Plantations Ltd.) came to be concentrated in the western and eastern parts of the island, respectively (see changes in ownership of Dagenham and Webbs in the West). Similarly, the estates owned by the Kirwan, Wilkin, Howes and Griffin families tended to be clustered around cotton works. There was also a ginnery on what was called the Otway estates, south of Plymouth, which included Spring and Broderick's and Amersham and Parsons's. In addition to those associated with the larger groups of estates, ginneries were also constructed on some estates owned by Montserratian planters. An example is the ginnery at Blakes and Lookout estate in the Northeast.

In 1947 there were seven ginneries on the island which were all owned by planters. In that year 43% of the acreage devoted to cotton was cultivated by household producers (not including sharecroppers). The producers had no ginning facilities available to them except those owned by the planters. The household producers, therefore, while relatively independent with regard to the cultivation stage were directly dependent on the planters as far as the processing stage was concerned.

Inextricably bound up with the dependence borne out of ownership of ginneries by the plantocracy were two others: credit and marketing.

> In Montserrat there has been no regular or institutional provision for agricultural credit. The tenant farmer, the ordinary paid worker and the sharecropper have come to depend upon the estates from time to time for small cash advances. In addition to this source of credit, peasant cultivators and other workers were given extended credit by the ordinary commercial stores. In general terms it may be stated that practically all the

> credits and cash advances were obtained as advances against the subsequent delivery of cotton to a particular ginnery operated by the estate or commercial dealer who granted the credit in the first instance (Montserrat, 1953:26).

In this context it is important to realize that in many cases, such as the Montserrat Company and most of the Montserratian planters, such as the Osbornes, the Kelsicks, the Edgecombes and the Allens, the household producers were dealing with a situation in which the ginning service and credit, as well the provision of supplies, were combined in the same person or company. This was further compounded by the fact that for the marketing of his crop the producer was also dependent on the planter or planter-merchant. Before the creation of a Government Marketing Board for cotton, in the dying days of the plantation system, planters and merchants dealt directly with cotton brokers on an individual basis. It is obvious that under this system the individual household producer had no influence, whatever, on the price paid to him by the planter, or merchant, who ginned and sold his cotton.

The dependence relationship which I described for the freehold or tenant farmer, obtained even more strongly in the case of estate workers. There were two types of estate workers; those whose labor was paid for in cash and those who received their wages in kind- or the sharecroppers. It was not at all uncommon for workers to be sharecroppers and to work for cash wages at one and the same time. I shall discuss the dependence relationship with regard to each relation of production, beginning with the sharecropper.

The share or metayer system developed during the post-Emancipation era in Montserrat (and elsewhere) in response to cash shortages experienced

by the planters (Hall, 1971:113; Frucht, 1967).[1] After the switch to cotton, the share system continued to play an important role in estate cultivation. The Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture indicate there was a direct relationship between prices paid for lint and the extent to which the share system was employed in any particular crop year. The 1933 report, for example, states that while growing conditions for cotton were ideal and yields per acre were high, little work was available on the estates. There would have been widespread unemployment on the island had it not been for the share system. The report draws an analogy with 1849 when sugar prices were low.

There is a tendency in the Annual Reports to refer to the share system in rather positive tones. No doubt this reflects the fact that the Department of Agriculture first and foremost served the needs of the planter class. Indeed, as Frucht (Ibid.) suggests, the origin of the metayer system lay in an attempt to preserve the ancien regime after Emancipation and, from the start, primarily benefited the planters.

The fact that the sharecropper is a wage-worker whose wages are paid in kind does not adequately characterize the dependency inherent in

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[1] Frucht makes a distinction between share-wage and share-rent. Under the share-wage system the worker "supplies the tools-in this case, hoe and pitch-fork-and the labour-his own and that of his household. The landowner, on the other hand, supplies the seed, the fertilizer, the insecticide and supervision in the person of a 'chargehand' or overseer" (Ibid.:297). Under the share-rent system, "the tenant supplies tools, seed, fertilizer, labour, etc., the landowner merely lets the use of his land" (Ibid.). Whereas the sharecropper as wage-worker does not decide which crop shall be planted, the share-tenant does have that prerogative. I do not have evidence for the practice of share-tenancy in Montserrat. One of the recommendations of the Beasley Commission (Montserrat, 1953: 14) was to introduce the "hand-in hand" system "whereby the agricultural worker contracts to carry out paid labour for the estate on a daily wage basis. In return, the estate owner gives him a share of land; provides ploughs and plants; makes arrangements for interrow cultivation at a small charge, and supplies fertilizers at half the cost".

such a relation of production. In this respect the fact of various means to exert control over his workers that were at the disposal of the planter is most important.

> (in) the system as practised in Montserrat... all the landowner does is to make the land available to the sharecropper and supply him with the necessary cotton seed for planting. The sharecropper then has the responsibility of cultivating and planting the land, caring for the crop until it is fit to be reaped, reaping it and delivering the seed cotton to the landowner - 10% is deducted from the weight of the seed cotton so delivered, to cover shrinkage etc., and the landowner then pays to the sharecropper for one-half of the remainder of the seed cotton at the prevailing market price; ...(Montserrat, 1958:23).

The system concentrated virtually unlimited power in the hands of the planters and estate managers. This was due to the fact that both land and ginneries were owned by the planter and access to credit and markets could be gained through them only. Not only did it allow for the worker to be coerced by the planter or attorney, but it also made possible the consistent shortchanging of the worker in terms of the actual wage he received. For example, weighing procedures were designed to leave the worker shortchanged by assigning a weight of 100 pounds to the cwt. In reality the cwt. had a weight of 112 pounds. Thus, for every 112 pounds of seed cotton which the sharecropper delivered to the planter he received only 100 pounds in value. Since the cotton seed given to the sharecropper was of no cost to the planter, the worker gained access to the planter's land in return for considerably less than the supposed 50% of the actual yield. The inequity of the system lies in the fact that while the sharecropper was subjected to all the risks, he consistently received less than half the value of his crop.

Estate workers who received cash wages were also subject to coer-

cive means in the hands of the estate owner or manager. This was due to the fact that villages were traditionally located on estate property. Thus, many of the house spots in Corkhill Village were on land that used to belong to the Montserrat Company. On the estates of the Kirwan family, workers were supplied with houses as well as with land for provisions and livestock, in addition to wages.

Given the fact that wages were very low, a fact readily acknowledged by some of the planters I interviewed, access to provision grounds was of absolute necessity to the landless proletariat. This enabled the planters to coerce workers into selling their labor at the wages offered. One former planter whose family still owns vast tracts of land on the island frankly referred to wage labor as "forced labor": the system of tenancy-at-will gave him the means to force workers to offer their labor on his terms.

In sum, relations of production in the cotton industry as they existed in Montserrat until the reforms of the 1940's were of three main types. The ownership of land and processing works by the planters and merchants underlay dependence of the household producer in relation to the plantocracy. This applied to both freehold/tenant producers and share-croppers. The landless workers were directly dependent on the planters for access to the means of subsistence, in return for which they had to work for starvation wages in a forced labor fashion. In the following section I shall discuss the means of cotton production that were closely tied to the relations of production which I discussed above.

3. MEANS OF COTTON PRODUCTION

In an article which analyses post-Emancipation society in Nevis, Frucht argues that proletarian relations of staple production were associated with "peasant-like means of production, which include cultivation of small plots with the use of household labor and traditional manual technology, ...". This mode of production, Frucht suggests, represents an adaptation to "the vicissitudes of a marginal economy" (1967:296).

The post-Emancipation history of Nevis closely resembles that of Montserrat. The relations of production which I described in the previous section were, similarly, associated with means of production characteristic of peasant cultivation (Wolf, 1966; Mintz, 1974:273-275).

Briefly, the process of cotton production involves the following sequence:

1. land preparation
2. planting
3. weedings (several) and thinning
4. picking
5. ginning
6. stalk uprooting and destruction
7. closed season

In Montserrat, planting began at the end of February and lasted until the end of April. From germination until the cotton plants covered the ground, the crop required constant care and labor requirements were very high (Abbott, 1964; Montserrat, 1953; also see Figure 4). Two weedings were followed by a thinning to one plant per hole. This was followed by further weedings until the plants covered the ground. Labor requirements from this point onward, until the time of reaping were very low. At this stage fertilizer was applied to the crop. It was also sprayed to protect it against numerous types of insects and other pests which may disastrously affect sea-island cotton yields.

Table 12

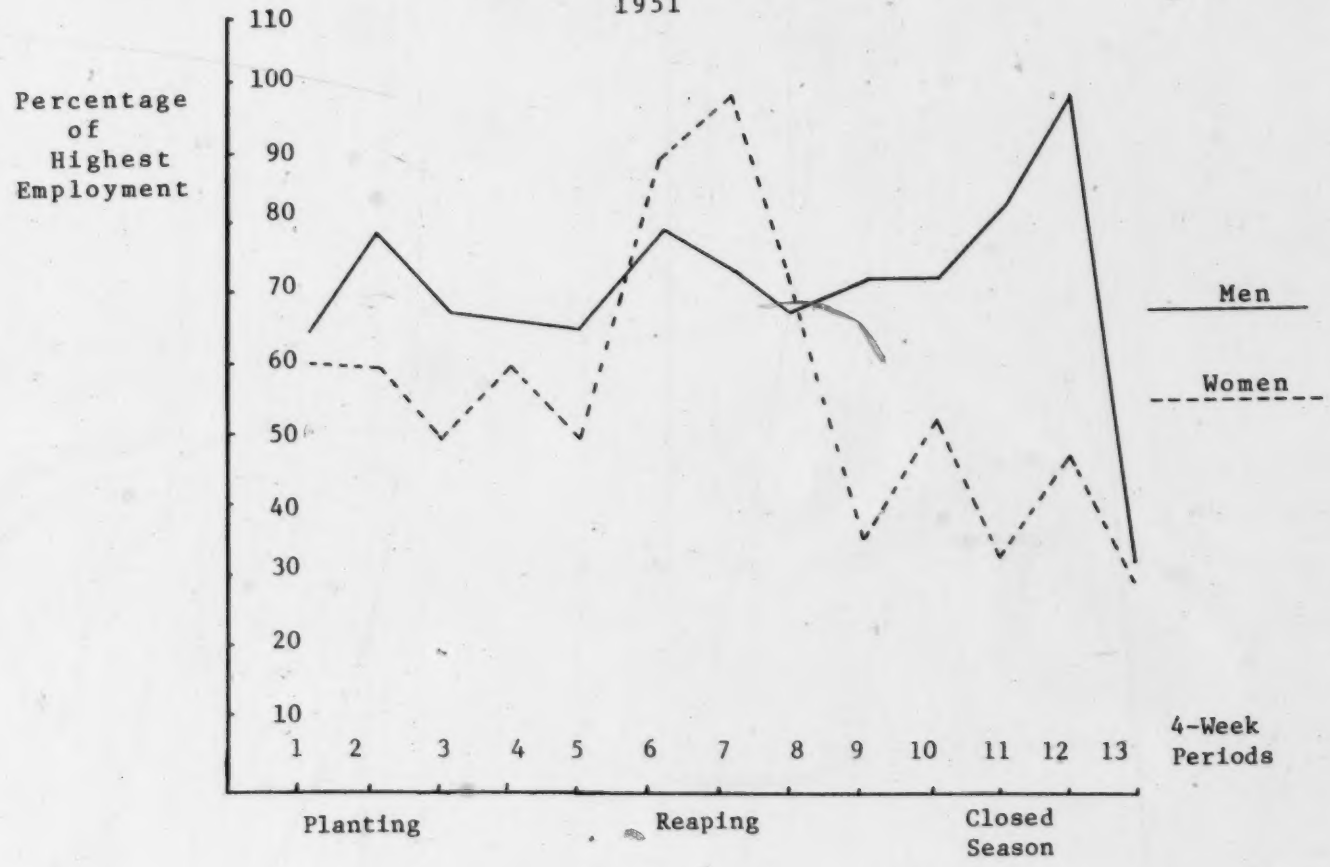
Sea-Island Cotton Production in Montserrat
1903-1966

YEAR	TOTAL LINT LBS	LBS/ACRE	ACREAGE	TEAR	TOTAL LINT LBS	LBS/ACRE	ACREAGE
1903	31666	45.23	700	1934	881595	283	3106
04	70723	117	600	35	1016387	229	4438
05	98262	128	770	36	457249	101	4550
06	162615	163	1000	37	660359	151	4380
07	365510	174	2100	38	541537	122	4453
08	224711	99	2250	39	643042	182	3541
09	235507	147	1600	40	998310	217	4596
10	404753	197	2050	41	1175932	218	5395
11	344753	128	2700	42	620000	142	4467
12	292182	141	2063	43	643352	161	4005
13	292167	133	2200	44	602339	196	3074
14	330923	162	2350	45	551517	146	3770
15	279595	143	1953	46	364805	145	2521
16	313322	156	1997	47	282508	107	2659
17	409855	157	2608	48	690889	200	3447
18	438222	138	3167	49	633966	166	3825
19	548334	171	3200	50	400190	112	3576
20	395035	123	3200	51	618540	195	3172
21	367736	178	2070	52	485884	119	3683
22	464082	229	2023	53	325000	165	1970
23	517893	199	2600	54	376937	128	2947
24	228845	65	3500	55	258884	103	2508
25	282759	113	2500	56	no crop due to change in season		
26	600127	214	2800	57	229735	153	2185
27	668301	230	2900	58	271272	124	2350
28	600472	231	2600	59	382913	163	1221
29	726129	226	3200	60	216000	183	982
30	737719	181	4079	61	156495	139	1175
31	400389	117	3425	62	133200	130	1075
32	187138	125	1500	63	150000	130	1125
33	477097	219	2182	64	140360	154	912
				65	186343	170	1180
				66	157867	138	1180

Sources: Montserrat Department of Agriculture: Annual Reports;
Montserrat, 1953

Figure 4

Seasonal Distribution of Wage Employment
on a Group of Cotton Estates
1951



Source: Montserrat, 1953

Reaping began during the second half of June and could last until the beginning of September.

> This entails a continuous round of picking as the bolls burst open, and it is essential to ensure that there be a steady supply of cheap labour and that the crop be gently handled so as to cause the least damage. Picking is therefore usually undertaken by female labour, though there may be a fair proportion of men engaged as well. The fact that the whole of the cotton crop does not ripen at the same time is perhaps the most serious disadvantage, militating against mechanization of cotton picking, and rendering the crop eminently suited to small-scale operation (Abbott, 1964:161).

A closed season for cotton was introduced, and enforced by law, in order to minimize the transmission of pests, especially the boll worm, from one crop to the next. This involved the uprooting, as well as burning, of the cotton plants. The closed season lasted approximately four months, until the preparation of land for the next crop initiated a new cycle.

Underdevelopment of the means of cotton production is indicated by low yields of clean lint per acre and by a historical decline of those yields (See Table 13). Yields per acre averaged 145 pounds of clean lint during the 1940's. In contrast, experiments at the Grove Agricultural Research Station demonstrated that average yields of 300 pounds per acre could be maintained over a five-year period (Montserrat, 1958:5).

Table 13

Trends in Cotton Yields, 1920-1950

Period	Average Yield of Clean Lint per Acre
1920's	181 lbs.
1930's	159 lbs.
1940's	145 lbs.

Source: Montserrat, 1953

Although ecological factors that are beyond the control of the producer regularly affect cotton yields, including the highly variable rainfall referred to in Chapter II, a crucial role is played by the means of production. The specific ways in which this role is played can be grouped into two categories: cultivation practices which affect the fertility of the soil, and those which have a bearing on the degree to which cotton crops are damaged by pests and other hazards.

With regard to the former, there is ample evidence to suggest that cultivation practices in general and those of household producers, in particular, have had a serious depletion effect on the fertility of the soil. According to the Beasley Report,

> In few other places in the Caribbean have we observed such extreme evidence of soil erosion and fertility depletion. Steep slopes, loose soils and continuous monoculture of cotton have combined to reduce the island's fertility to a very low level (Montserrat, 1953:39).

> It may be possible that the temporary loss of a tree cover and subsequent monoculture of cotton in the absence of a suitable rotation system or other provisions for maintaining soil fertility have reduced the island's agricultural potential to a level which now warrants the most energetic and sustained technical direction (Ibid.:18).

Department of Agriculture Reports, dating back to just ten years after the switch from sugar to cotton, indicate a lack of concern about the need to conserve the soil, on the part of both planters and household producers. Cotton was grown year after year on the same land, initially without any manuring or crop rotation. Not only did such practices contribute to a lack of available soil nutrients, but they also directly affected the humus content of the soil. A declining humus content seriously affects the availability of nutrients to the plant; it also contributes to soil erosion (Hardy and Rodriques, 1949:37). Even-

tually, a number of estates began to use the by-products of cotton seed processing to manure the soil. The fact that gradually a majority of the cotton was cultivated by household producers, however, helped to minimize the effect of this practice.

The lack of crop rotation and manuring was compounded by burning the cotton crop upon completion of the picking. Although this was necessary in order to minimize the transmission of pests from one crop to the next, it did result in less organic matter being returned to the soil.

Soil erosion and consequent loss of soil fertility was speeded up considerably by cultivation practices of household producers. Although mechanized plowing and banking were introduced on a number of estates during the post-War period, household producers continued to rely on the hoe as the main cultivation implement.

> "Hoe-rosion": An insidious kind of man-made erosion, all too common in Montserrat on the looser, less coherent kinds of soil, is the downhill drag of the surface soil caused by the common practice of hoeing continually down the slope. Many peasants' plots, especially those resulting from the fragmentation of former private estates, are rectangular in shape and are laid out in regular pattern on variably sloping ground. The peasant cultivates his holding solely with the hoe. He works from the upper boundary-edge and lays the land in a series of successive parallel banks (not necessarily strictly along the contours) until he reaches the lowest boundary-edge. The process is repeated each time the land is tilled. This kind of man-induced erosion may perhaps be termed for convenience "hoe-rosion". In due course a small escarpment is produced along the upper boundary. Sometimes this escarpment is breached during the rainy weather by heavy runoff from the adjacent holding above. Occasionally a line of trees, bushes or some other kind of vegetation is planted to prevent this happening, or a rough wall of boulders is built with the object of forming a barrier to prevent the soil from moving onto the next adjacent plot lower down the slope. In most cases, the barrier is inefficient or useless for the purpose intended (Ibid.:19).

Declining soil fertility caused by lack of manuring, deficient crop rotation and the effects of hoe-rosion, contained its built-in escalator. In order to maintain returns or increase yields during favorable market conditions, additional tracts of land were brought into production. These lands, however, were increasingly of marginal suitability to cotton cultivation. It specifically concerned lands on steeper slopes on which the effects of hoe-rosion were most severe. A trend not dissimilar to that which I described for the second half of the 18th century can again be discerned.

During the 1940's Colonial Welfare and Development Grants financed a program of soil restoration and land contouring. Informants told me that much of the improvements were soon negated by the continued practice of deliterious cultivation techniques. In similar fashion, Government sponsored settlement schemes for landless producers failed to promote improvements in cultivation standards. The small size of the acreages granted fostered perpetuation of part-time production.

Another major factor responsible for low cotton yields in Montserrat was the incidence of pests. The most important and devastating of these were the pink boll worm, the cotton stainer and the leaf worm. The pests not only directly affected cotton lint yields, but they also largely determined the quality of the lint and thus the prices paid by the spinners.

A number of techniques were developed to minimize the incidence of these pests. The most important was the institution of a "close season" of four months' duration. After picking, the entire crop was to be uprooted and destroyed by burning. During the closed season no cotton was allowed to be grown. Additional measures included fumigation

of cotton seed and disinfection of storehouses (Abbott, 1964:168).

Added to monoculture, consistent delinquency on the part of producers in effectively deposing of the crop after picking, contributed to reduction of cotton yields. Abbott implies that household producers demonstrated greater deficiencies in this regard than did the planters. The increasing role played by the household producers in cotton production tended to result in greater inadequacy with regard to the enforcement of regulations concerning the burning of the crop and the maintenance of a close season (Ibid.). Moreover, a contributing factor was the practice of shifting cultivation among household producers. Under this system, the old crop was often simply cut, rather than burned, thus allowing for its springing back and consequent transmission of pests (Ibid.:161).

Beside improper destruction of the old crop and failure to execute other prophylactic measures, additional crops cultivated by the household producer could also affect the transmission of pests. Both okra and tomatoes can act as hosts to cotton pests. During the 1930's, in particular, large acreages of tomatoes were cultivated by household producers as a cash crop, on cotton land, during the closed season (Department of Agriculture Annual Reports).

Finally, in order to reduce his risks, the household producer often planted a "catch crop" in with his cotton. This could be corn, beans, or provisions and had a direct effect on the amount of cotton harvested (Philpott, 1973:91).

In sum, various aspects of the means of cotton production in Montserrat underlay the traditional problem of low yields. While planters and household producers both contributed to this problem, there is evidence

that production standards maintained on the estates, which employed wage labor, were higher than those of the household producers.[1] Moreover, given the fact that most of the cotton was grown by households, the means of cotton production were overwhelmingly "peasant like".

Low levels of capitalization, marginal productivity and underdeveloped means of production form an interesting intercausality which is rooted in the mode of staple production in Montserrat.

> The fact that the (cotton) industry has for many years been of marginal profitability may account for the reluctance to plough back profits in land improvement but the present crisis in the industry must be largely attributed to the fact that it has relied for years on methods of production which utilize little capital and much cheap labour, and these methods cannot be maintained today in the face of emigration and strong trade unionism (O'Loughlin, 1959:161).

An explanation for the underdeveloped state of the means of production in Montserrat's cotton industry lies not so much with the household producer qua producer as in the relationship between producers and the planter-merchant class described above. The application of Frucht's model allows us to view the underdeveloped state of the means of cotton production as a logical and inherent quality of the mode of staple production.

Thus, as we saw earlier, under the conditions of economic marginality which obtained in Montserrat after Emancipation, the survival of

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[1] During the 1956-57 crop year the Montserrat Company and Wade Plantations had average yields of 216 lbs. and 214 lbs. of clean lint per acre, respectively. Although some small growers reached yields of over 300 lbs. per acre, yields by household producers averaged 138 lbs. per acre, in comparison to 227 lbs. per acre for estates, during the 1953-57 period (Montserrat, 1958:5-6).

the plantation system was made possible by the introduction of share-cropping, and other arrangements between planter and worker, which ensured ready access to labor under conditions of cash shortage which otherwise would have made such access impossible.

The shift from muscovado sugar to sea-island cotton, in the beginning of the present century, occurred when the market for the traditional export staple had disappeared. The mode of staple production, however, persisted largely unchanged. It was suggested also that share cropping arrangements, with their characteristics of dependence and coercion, allowed the planters to continue production throughout the 1930's, when market conditions for the staple were extremely adverse. The inner logic of the mode of production dictated that the perpetuation of such relations of production also effected perpetuation of peasant like means of production.

We are now in a position to offer part of the explanation for the collapse of Montserrat's plantation system during the 1950's. During that period, the means of staple production came into rapid contradiction with changes in the relations of production that were wrought by plantation workers in the 1940's and '50's, by means of collective action. Changes in relations of production largely removed the planters' coercive means. During the 1950's the workers were able to successfully negotiate wage increases that resulted in a loss of profitability by the planters.

The contradiction between traditional means of production and changing relations of production manifested itself in the inability of the planters to adapt to the situation of declining profits. Eventually the bank's withholding of the usual credit precipitated a collapse.

This explanation, however, is incomplete in that it fails to specify the historically particular conditions which obtained in Montserrat, following the end of the Second World War, and which made possible the success of the workers' struggle.

4. MIGRATION, REMITTANCES AND THE FALL OF THE MONTSERRAT PLANTER CLASS

During the late 1940's and early 1950's conditions developed in Montserrat which enabled the plantation workers to alter the productive relations to an extent that allowed them to negotiate successfully for higher wages. The changes in the relations of production effected by the workers' struggle were essentially of a political nature, i.e., they altered the existing power relations between the two classes and, consequently, the nature of the relationship between workers and planters.

A number of conditions which developed at the time contributed to the success of the workers' struggle. The most important of these were post-War migration of Montserratians, receipt of remittances by migrants' relatives, who stayed behind, and unionization of the plantation workers. Heavy migration of Montserratians created conditions of a shortage of labor not unlike those which existed earlier in the century, at the time of the switch from sugar to sea-island cotton. The receipt of remittances by those who stayed behind made it possible for considerable numbers of workers to withhold their labor during collective actions.

Table 14 demonstrates the extent of the mass exodus of Montserratians during the post-war migration period. In a recent work on the Montserrat case of West Indian migration, Philpott (1973) has char-

acterized the island as a "migration oriented" society, i.e., society "in which a significant proportion of the population is involved in seasonal, temporary or permanent out-migration" (Philpott, 1968:475).

Philpott (1973:25-29) shows that post-Emancipation Montserratian migration dates back to the mid-nineteenth century. Investment in limes and the resuscitation of the sugar industry reduced the push-factor of Montserratian migration. It remained relatively minor until the end of the century when the depressed state of the sugar market and the destruction of the lime orchards by pests and hurricanes produced

Table 14

Emigration and Remittances
Montserrat 1946-1964

	Number of Passport Applications	Remittances by Mail $
1946	158	NA
47	252	NA
48	184	NA
49	172	NA
50	122	61,887
51	199	72,418
52	153	76,170
53	149	81,111
54	480	126,567
55	1,145	405,726
56	744	588,749
57	547	560,284
58	432	550,132
59	606	507,426
60	982	616,811
61	644	608,818
62	404	531,469
63	289	458,569
64	464	485,662

Source: Philpott, 1973:196, 198.

extreme deprivation among the population. First the construction of the Panama Canal, later the United States, Canada, the sugar industries of

Cuba and the Dominican Republic and the banana industry of Costa Rica created the pull-factors for large-scale migration of islanders during the first part of the century. During the late 1930's the refinery industry of Curaçao and Aruba attracted many Montserratians and precipitated another wave of migration. Population changes between 1921 and 1946 (see Table 5), however, suggest that these were temporary migrants. Moreover, as Philpott suggests, the early post-War years were relatively prosperous ones for Montserrat. This prosperity, however, was short-lived: economic decline in Montserrat and the need for labor in Britain combined to create the largest exodus in the history of the island (see also Lowenthal and Comitas, 1962).

The causes and effects of Montserratian migration during the post-war period represent a dynamic of considerable importance to our discussion. Thus, Montserratians left their island because of increasing deprivation associated with the staple economy.

> In Montserrat, the major choice is limited to emigration...The fact is that Montserrat, with its decaying economy, exhibits what have been called... pathological symptoms..., -tiny and fragmented holdings, malnutrition, illiteracy and backwardness ...; misuse of land; primitive and insanitary dwellings; landhunger...(Montserrat, 1953:13).

The Beasley Report identifies the extremely low income levels of most of the population as the immediate cause of this deprivation:

> By any standards, such appallingly low cash earnings must necessarily imply a failure to secure the most elementary material goods and amenities for modest living even in rural dwellings (Ibid.:33).

The authors of the Malone Report, five years later, observe that while wage rates had increased (see Table 15) so had the cost of living:

> We have come to the definite conclusion that the cash earnings of the agricultural worker are still

> "appallingly low". Even when the cash earnings are supplemented by remittances from abroad, ... the budget of the worker will hardly be balanced (Montserrat, 1958:13).

Philpott's "migration-oriented" society may also be called a "remittance society" (Lowenthal & Comitas, 1962:205). Table 14 shows that by the end of the 1950's well over half a million dollars entered the economy, almost twice as much as the total value of staple earnings (cf. O'Loughlin, 1959; Philpott, 1973:35).

Table 15

Changes in Wages and Prices Paid in the Montserrat Cotton Industry 1948-1959

	Wage Rates		%Change	Price for 1 lb. of Clean Lint	% Change
	Males	Females			
1948	50-56 ¢	32-40 ¢		74-76 ¢	
49	60-64	40-44	10-20	86-92	16-21
50	60-72	40-48	0-12.5	87-93	1
51	66-80	44-52	8-11	102-108	16-17
52	90-96	60-64	20-36	134	31
53	90	60	0- -6		
54	100	66	10-11	108	
55					
56	100	66	0	112	4
57	108	72	8-9	118	5
58					
pre-strike:					
	114	78	5-8	119	1
post-strike:					
	130	90	20-25		

Note: Due to a change in the planting date for cotton there was no crop in 1956. This should be taken into account in consideration of the planters' financial position in subsequent years.

Source: Montserrat, 1953 and 1958

In spite of the obvious magnitude of the effects of remittances on Montserrat's economy during the 1950's, their precise role in the availability of labor is still a vexing problem. On the one hand,

O'Loughlin's data (1959:162; see also Table 27) demonstrate that while the contribution of the cotton industry to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) declined, those of the secondary sectors, such as construction and distribution, increased, thereby indicating increased expenditures by Montserratians. While most of these increases were due to increased Government expenditures, remittances may also account for the observation that "the standard of living is better than ever before, within living memory" (Lowenthal and Comitas, 1962:207). Philpott, too, expresses the opinion that remittances favorably affected workers' incomes. As we saw above, however, the Malone Report suggests that even with remittances the standard of living of the workers was "very close to the margin of subsistence." At the same time,"but for remittances from abroad, it might be impossible for(the workers)to subsist at all" (Montserrat, 1958:13).

During 1964-65, Philpott collected data concerning the role of remittances in household incomes in two Montserratian communities. This was approximately ten years after the period under review in this chapter, and remittances had begun to decline. Moreover, it was also in 1964-65 that intensive real estate activity associated with the development of tourism began to have considerable economic effects (see Chapter V).[1] Nevertheless, the data are very useful in gaining an impression of the extent to which households had come to rely on remittances to make a living.

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[1]My survey data for Corkhill Village show that by the end of the decade only 30% of the households in that settlement were receiving remittances.

The two villages surveyed by Philpott were Cudjoe Head in the Northwest Leeward district and "The East" in the Windward region. Whereas Cudjoe Head is located in a region where independent household production had progressively replaced plantation agriculture in the beginning of the present century, The East is made up of a number of villages where livelihood was overwhelmingly derived from employment on the estates of Wade Plantations Ltd., in one of the prime cotton growing areas of the island.

> According to my surveys, 92 of the 160 (57.5 per cent) Cudjoe Head households and 80 of the 144 (55.5 per cent) East households depend on remittances for approximately 70-100 per cent of their cash income. More specifically, 50 of 67 (74.8 per cent) female-headed households in Cudjoe Head fall in this category and 54 of 81 (66.8 per cent) of female-headed households in the East. For male headed households, 42 of 93 (45.2 per cent) in Cudjoe Head and 26 of 63 (41.3 per cent) in the East fall in this category. Remittances to any particular household range from about 30 up to 200 per year depending upon, among other factors, the number of dependents in the household and the number of remitting migrants (Philpott, 1973:143).

Table 16 shows that during the period from 1953 to 1956 the proportion of total household income represented by remittances increased six-fold. O'Loughlin feels that "remittance income accounted for twenty-seven per cent of the cash income in Montserrat in 1956" (1959:148) if subsistence income is subtracted and cash income considered only[1].

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[1] A similar story is told for neighboring Nevis by Frucht, where by 1962 remittances had "replaced agriculture as a main source of income" (1968:203).

Table 16

Remittances as a Percentage of Household Income
Montserrat, 1953-1957

Year	Total Remittances (A)	Total Household Income (B)	A/Bx100
1953	$ 93,300	$ 2,429,600	4 %
54	158,800	2,727,500	6
55	483,100	3,020,700	16
56	769,000	3,226,800	24
57	754,300	3,527,100	21

Source: O'Loughlin, 1959:171

Although some used remittances to finance passages for new migrants while others, who were "better-off"[1], spent them on the construction or renovation of dwellings, most Montserratians appear to have used remittances to pay for living expenses.

In summary, one major effect of the emigration boom of the 1950's was the receipt of remittances. The evidence suggests that they overwhelmingly contributed to household expenses by the middle of the decade. The actual depletion of the labor force by migration had a direct effect on the availability of labor for the planters. This problem (in terms of the viability of the plantation system) was compounded by the fact that remittances enabled workers to transcend the traditional necessity of selling their labor to the planters for starvation wages. Both factors, together, made possible a qualitative change in production relations. The entire superstructure of status and power relations, which was so carefully constructed after Emancipation, had

[1] Frucht (1968) gives evidence for class differences with respect to the use of remittances in Nevis. Moreover, savings by Montserratians increased significantly during the 1950's.

served to prevent this from happening.

The creation of economic and demographic conditions in Montserrat which made it possible for workers to withhold their labor was accompanied by important changes in the political structure and the political process. The cause and effect relationship which obtained between the two sets of factors underlies the collapse of the plantation system.

The political changes involved the rise of trade unionism, constitutional changes and the transfer of formal political power from the planters to the leaders of the workers.

> In Montserrat as in the other British West Indian islands, the rise of a working class movement had its roots in the economic depression which Europe and North America experienced in the ninteen thirties. The riots which flared up all over the West Indies in the nineteen thirties and caused considerable loss in property were absent from Montserrat although they started in nearby St. Kitts where conditions were not much worse. Whereas also, both St. Kitts and Antigua had registered Trade Unions by 1940, Montserrat had no such organization until 1946 (Fergus, 1975:38).

Thanks to the work of Howard Fergus it is not necessary to describe the political changes of the 1940's and '50's in great detail. I shall limit my discussion to highlights that relate directly to the plantation system.

Although Montserratian workers were able to organize themselves and take collective action against the planters, the instruments of government were still in the hands of the planter-merchant class until the election of 1952, following the introduction of universal suffrage the previous year. The immediate result of the election was the beginning of the transfer of formal political power to the Montserrat Labour Party, whose leadership was the same as that of the Union.

Given the effects of migration which I discussed above, these structural changes allowed the workers to force their demands onto the planters, for the first time in the history of the colony. These demands were two-fold: higher wages and the removal of the metayer system. The degree of success of workers' collective action is reflected by the fact that twice during the remainder of the decade formal inquiries into crises in the cotton industry were held[1]. These crises were precipitated by strike action on the part of the workers.

It is interesting to note that of the two issues, wages and the share system, the latter was more difficult to change. The fight for abolition of the share system was led by William Bramble who later became the island's first Chief Minister.

Bramble was elected to the Legislative Council in 1952, following the introduction of universal suffrage, as member for the Windward District. Fergus quotes from his famous appeal to the population, on the eve of the election (1975:39).

> Listen to me, you landless people, you people,
> the industrial machinery of this country, arise,
> and throw off the yoke that binds you like slaves

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[1] In 1953 the appointment of the Beasley Commission was prompted by "a sudden deterioration in the relationship between cotton workers and the estate owners and managers" (Montserrat, 1953:4). In 1958, a Board of Inquiry was appointed "to inquire into the cause and circumstances of a dispute, concerning wages of agricultural labourers, between the Montserrat Producers Assoc. and the Montserrat Trades and Labour Union" (Montserrat, 1958:1).

to the Wade Plantations[1].

Bramble took over the presidency of the Union in 1954. In 1957 he led the Labour Party in a general election against the Democratic Party, which represented the planter-merchant class. Bramble also mobilized the union for strike action against the planters, in order to force them to agree to wage increases and the leasing of forty acres of estate land to the Government in the Windward district. The land was to be made available to local workers. Strike action involved considerable violence and intimidation, by and of the workers. The outcome of the strike and the election was the final defeat of the plantocracy and destruction of the post-Emancipation ancien regime. It is worth quoting Fergus (1975:43) at length:

> Although a Labour Party led by Union Executives did emerge after 1952, trade unionism in Montserrat was not weeded to politics in the same way as in other West Indian islands, or for that matter, in England. This is in spite of the fact that in Montserrat, the unconstitutional practice (from an English point of view) of the leading politician in the Legislature retaining his leadership in the Union Executive, obtained as in many other islands. There is no evidence that the Trade Union sponsored politicians on the grounds of the belief that political advancement in the form of increasing self-government was the panacea of economic ills. This is why union activities were localized, intermittent, and short-lived. Adult suffrage and other changes in the constitution came to Montserrat as a matter of course-the fruits of agitation in the larger islands and Britain's own evolutionary constitutional pattern laid down for the colonies.

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[1] Wade Plantation Ltd. was the chief employer of agricultural labor in the Windward District. Its manager, a member of one of Montserrat's oldest planter families, was the most hard-nosed of the leaders of the plantocracy.

> Even if Bramble and his Labour junta did not campaign for constitutional advancement, he was quick to use his political position in his war against systems which he deemed obsolete and iniquitous. In this war, share-cropping, which for him perpetuated "economic and industrial slavery" finally went in 1957, although not without a struggle from the heirs of the plantocracy. The votes went four against three.[1] The Road Board Ordinance of 1907 was also condemned in 1954 as "an iniquitous anachronism by which the people were being victimized, enslaved and oppressed by the landlords who dominated the Road Boards-people were employed to do work on roads as well as on estates, and paid for private work out of public funds". It will be difficult to provide facts to support this emotive 'political' speech, but if landlords did not misappropriate the funds, they often used road work as reward to faithful estate serfs. Moreover, the introduction of a Social Services and Public Works Committee rendered the previous system almost anomalous.

SUMMARY

In summary, we saw that the collapse of plantation agriculture in Montserrat was a direct consequence of the underdevelopment of the means of cotton production. More crucial, however, were the changes in the relations of production, and the political superstructure designed to maintain them, which were wrought by workers' struggle. Such struggle was successful because of the conditions of labor shortage, receipt of remittances, and constitutional changes which developed during the post-war period.

By the end of the 1950's the economy of Montserrat was in a state of bankruptcy. Exports were rapidly declining and the growing gap between imports and exports was covered only by grants-in-aid and remit-

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[1] The Crown Colony system of government stipulated that of the seven members of the Legislative Council, three be appointed (nominated) by the Queen's representative. The three nominated members of the 1957 Council represented the planter-merchant class.

tances (O'Loughlin, 1959). Large tracts of estate land were lying idle and reverting back to bush. Emigration was at record levels and the normal functioning of public and private services was impeded by a steady drain of qualified personnel (Lowenthal and Comitas, 1962). The problem of unemployment among unskilled workers was compounded by a lack of skilled labor.

Due to the indebtedness of the estates and the decline in production, planters were looking forward to selling their land. Evidence for this is provided by a veritable rush to register titles to property in 1959 and 1960. A direct consequence of the economic decline of the 1950's was, therefore, the availability of large tracts of land at low prices. Due to the same factor a large mass of unemployed and underemployed workers was also available. Wages were half of those paid in neighboring islands (Ibid.:205). Emigration had left the island with a plurality of women over men of 100-80.

The attitudes that existed toward cotton at the end of the decade are summed up by Abbott (1964:165):

> No one seems to be interested in resuscitating the industry, and an atmosphere of despair hangs heavy on the inhabitants of this island.
>
> ...Montserratians have lost faith in cotton and there seems to be little point in thinking that this crop can regain its former prominence in the island's community.

Given the marginalization effect of staple production on domestic agriculture, Abbott's characterization is equally fitting for agriculture as a whole. The condition of Montserrat in the late 1950's, as defined by economy, labor force and the attitudes of its inhabitants, represented the legacy of the island's raison d'etre for almost three hundred years:

staple production. These very conditions formed the economic, social and psychological basis for a restructuring of the island's economy and society, within a persisting context of dependency relations. That restructuring had, in fact, partially proceeded as an accompaniment, and contributor, to the decline of the staple economy. The exodus of Montserratians represented a shift from cotton to labor, from a staple- to a quasi-staple economy. The development of tourism in the 1960's represented another step in this process of reperipheralization and underdevelopment.

CHAPTER V

TOURISM IN MONTSERRAT: THE GROWTH OF A QUASI-STAPLE ECONOMY

In this chapter I shall discuss the growth of tourism during the 1960's. The discussion will consist of two parts. First, I shall describe the history and character of tourism expansion on the island. This will be followed by a discussion of the patterns of appropriation of factors of production that accompanied the growth of tourism.

1. THE MONTSERRAT CASE OF WEST INDIAN TOURISM

In this study I make a distinction between residential tourism and resort tourism[1]. While this distinction is most useful with respect to the analysis of changes in resource use (Chapters V and VI) it also reflects the social consequences of tourism which are the focus of discussion in Chapters VII and VIII.

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[1] A third form of tourism, cruise-ship tourism, which is important to the Caribbean region as a whole, is of little significance in Montserrat. The island lacks a deep-water harbor as well as shopping-and sight seeing-facilities that would be attractive to cruiseship passengers. "Windjammer" charter schooners that are based in the U.S. Virgin Islands occasionally stop by Montserrat. Approximately 850 cruiseship passengers visited the island in 1968. The lack of attraction which Montserrat holds for this type of tourist is reflected by the fact that I observed many return to the ship after having spent only a few hours on shore.

Table 17

Estate Ownership in Montserrat, 1953

Estate	Approx. Acreage	Location*	Owner (s)
Little Bay	115	nl	E.T. Edgecombe
" "	68	nl	Catherine Weekes
Thatched Valley	31	n	Thomas A. Samuel
" "	18	n	William H. Allen
" "	18	n	Keziah Greenaway
" "	18	n	Jerimiah Greenaway
" "	24	n	Nathaniel Gerald
Weekes	25	c	Est. of R.H. Howes
"	140	c	Heirs of Pencheon
Barzey's	82	nl	A.H. Allen
"	90	nl	Catherine Allen
Brims Ghaut	59	nl	O.R. Kelsick
" "	20	nl	M.S. Osborne
Providence	50	nl	G.D. Fenton
Reids Hill	240	cl	Florence Griffin & Others
Bugby Hole	310	c	" " "
Farrells	216	c	" " "
Paradise	360	c	B. & O. Maginley
Long Field	310	c	Florence Griffin
Gages	372	c	Est. of R.H. Howes
Woodlands	305	cl	Est. of S.W. Howes
Trants	292	cw	Heirs of Laura Howes
Rileys & Streatham	348	c	" " "
Gallways	166	sl	C.H. Meade
Gallways & Codneys	264	sl	J.H. Jeffers
Harris	50	c	Heirs of Kirwan and Hollender
Eastman's Land	550	cw	" " "
Water Work	550	c	" " "
Old Road	237	cl	" " "
Farms	300	cw	" " "
Fergus Mountain	200	sl	" " "
Geralds	76	n	Joseph Kirwan
Blakes & Lookout	1113	nw	Lee Brothers
Richmond	686	cl	Montserrat Co. (England) Ltd.
Elberton	525	cl	" " "
Olveston	975	cl	" " "
O'Garros	1201	cl	" " "
Isles Bay	222	cw	" " "
Mulcares	40	cw	Heirs of William Osborne
Tar River	330	cw	Est. of R.J. Osborne
Lees	233	c	R.C. Church
Roaches	700	sw	Roaches Syndicate
White & Hermitage Bethel & Tuitt	1442	cw	Wade Plantations Ltd.
Dagenham	203	cl	Heirs of Wilkins
Sweeneys	100	nl	A.H. Allen
Underwood	76		Joseph B. Allen
Old Quaw	20	n	" "
	13,720		

* c: Central; cl: Central Leeward; cw:Central Windward; n:North; nl:North Leeward; nw:North Windward; sl:South Leeward; sw:South Windward

Residential tourism is centered around the subdivisions which have been developed as enclaves on former estates along the Leeward coast, north of Plymouth and, to a much lesser extent, on the former Windward estates. Residential tourists are visitors to the island who have purchased lots in the enclaves, have built homes and spent greater or lesser parts of the year in residence. Many of the residential tourists are retired Canadians and Americans who are semi-permanent residents of Montserrat. Others use their homes for holidays only.

Resort tourism is centered around the island's hotels. In 1970 there were six but, as can be seen in Table 18 only one hotel, the Vue Pointe Hotel, represents a resort in the true sense of the word. This hotel is very much the focal point of tourism in general as it is centrally located with respect to the residential enclaves. Residential tourists frequent the hotel not only to use its facilities but also to meet other tourists, including fellow expatriates and short-term visitors from North America and Europe.

The growth of tourism in Montserrat began in 1960 when an initial 150 acres of Old Road estate (also known as Old Towne) were purchased by the Montserrat Real Estate Company Limited. Montserrat Real Estate was formed by a group of American investors with real estate and contracting interests. The land was bought from the Hollender-Kirwan family. The Kirwans have long played a prominent role in the history of Montserrat's staple economy and plantation society and it remains one of the largest landowners on the island.

Montserrat Real Estate's intention was to subdivide the area and sell serviced lots to North Americans. Anticipating a need for hotel space to accommodate prospective lot buyers, the company pursuaded the

Table 18

Hotel Accommodation in Montserrat 1970

Hotel	Location	No. of Rooms	No. of Beds	Facilities
Vue Pointe	Old Towne	40	80+	Cottages and double rooms, dining room, cocktail patios, swimming pool, beach, golf course nearby; located in the centre of Leeward residential tourism development.
Emerald Isle	Richmond	16	32	Double rooms, dining room, cocktail lounge, swimming pool, near beach and Plymouth.
Wade Inn	Plymouth	10	20	Double rooms, dining room, cocktail lounge, no private bathroom facilities.
Coconut Hill	Plymouth	10	20	Double rooms, dining room, converted mansion, cocktail lounge, no private bathroom facilities.
Olveston House	Olveston	7	14	Remodeled estate house, offering "pension" type accommodation.
Canadiana	Spanish Point	5	10+	Housekeeping units; located near the airport, but removed from shopping and entertainment centres; near beaches, but swimming hazardous.
Total:		88	176	

+The number of beds in cottages and housekeeping units varies according to number of occupants.

Osbornes, a Montserratian planter-merchant family to build a hotel at Old Road. At that time there existed only one hotel: the rather old and inadequate Coconut Hill Hotel in Plymouth.

In a real sense, this early association between residential tourism and resort tourism, between metropolitan capital and local capital, represented the general process of peripheralization which metropolitan investment in staple-or quasi staple-production initiates. More specifically, it defined the role of resort tourism in Montserrat as a derived and subordinate one, at least during most of the decade. Put into different terms, the dominant role which metropolitan capital played in the establishment and expansion of tourism relegated resort tourism to one of support. The implications of the subordination of local capital by metropolitan capital, with respect to class structure and the political process will be discussed in Chapters VII and VIII, respectively.

The expansion of residential tourism during the 1960's had two aspects. On the one hand, the development of residential tourism included the purchase of land and its subdivision in designated areas. Actual subdivision involved demarcation of lots and the construction of roads and services. The development companies were initially responsible for all facets of subdivision development. The other major, and in the longer perspective, more important aspect of residential tourism growth was the construction of tourist homes on the lots purchased.

The first aspect, development of subdivisions, expanded rapidly until 1968. Since that time no additional land held by the developers has been designated for subdivision. At the time of my fieldwork, development was proceeding in only one subdivision, Montserrat Estates, which is situated between the Foxes Bay and Isles Bay subdivisions. A

moratorium was placed on further subdivision in 1968 by the previous Labour administration and it is unlikely that permits for development will be granted until more homes have been built in the existing subdivisions[1].

Table 19 lists the residential tourist subdivisions, the land areas developed and lots created in each, as well as the number of homes built in each subdivision between 1960 and 1970. Table 20 moreover, indicates the rate at which homes were constructed.

Table 19

Residential Tourist Subdivisions, 1970

Subdivision	Location	Developer	Acreage	No. of Lots	Homes Built
Old Towne	Leeward	Montserrat Realty Co.	613	1374	111
Olveston	"	"			
Woodlands	"	"			
Isles Bay	"	West Indies Plan. Ltd.	105	104	7
Foxes Bay	"	"	175	327	13
Richmond Hill	"	"		90	38
Montserrat Est.	"	"	40	62	-
Spanish Pointe	Windward	Leeward Islands Dev. Co. Ltd.	150	779	19
Total:			1083	2736	188

Source: Montserrat, 1970

While I shall return to the matter later in this chapter, it is instructive to point out that in terms of the two aspects of residential tourism development, investment by development companies has drastically decreased since the institution of a moratorium on further sub-

[1] The political dimension, as well as the underlying tensions which gave rise to the moratorium, will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Table 20

Annual Rate of Home Construction in Residential Tourism Subdivisions

Subdivision	1964-1966	1967	1968	1969
Olveston	-	-	-	-
Woodlands	64	11	16	20
Old Towne	-	-	-	-
Spanish Pointe	10	3	3	3
Richmond Hill	17	14	5	-
Foxes Bay	1	8	-	4
Isles Bay	1	5	-	1
Montserrat Estates	-	-	-	-
Total:	93	41	24	28

Source: Montserrat, 1970

division. Secondly, while home construction in the subdivisions continued after 1968, it did so at a decreasing rate.

> Residential development for foreigners after an early burst of activity, has not fulfilled the hopes placed on it. (British Development Division in the Caribbean, 1969:2)

> The number of houses built rose sharply in the first few years but fell away sharply in 1968. Houses are of course being built outside these developments (the residential tourist subdivisions) but it was intended that the latter would provide a major stimulus to growth. This is clearly no longer happening and without the growth the justification for a socially disruptive community is undermined (Ibid.:8).

It is important to note, in this context, that the economic impact of residential tourism has already been reduced to expenditures by residential tourists on home construction and physical maintenance. As the rate of home construction in the enclaves declines that impact will be increasingly limited to residential tourists' spending on goods and services.

Between 1960 and 1970, a total of 5,684.50 acres of former estate land were transferred from planters to development companies (Table 21).

Of this total, 4,424.68 acres were purchased by three companies which were directly involved in the development and promotion of residential tourism. These were West Indies Plantation Ltd., Montserrat Real Estate Company Ltd., and Leeward Island Development Company Ltd. Linton Mark's operation in Montserrat was limited to speculation. This investor purchased the idle cotton estates from Wade Plantations Ltd. and sold small parcels to the Leeward Island Company Ltd. (see Table 22).

Table 21

Tourism Development Companies and their Land Holdings+, Montserrat, 1970

A. Held by Developers of Residential Tourism (Foreign)

Company	Acreage
Leeward Island Development Company	192.56
Linton Mark	1213.55
Montserrat Real Estate Company	882.11
West Indies Plantations	3350.00
Marlin	19.60
Old Road Investment Company	21.64
Tamarak Estates	5.04
Total:	5684.50

B. Held by Developers of Resort Tourism (Local)

Company	Acreage
Osborne Hotels	5.25
Montserrat Development Association	13.00
Montserrat Hotels	6.29
Total:	42.54
Grand Total:	5709.04

+Includes total acreage of plots sold to residential tourists

Source: Montserrat Register of Titles and Deeds

The smaller enterprises listed in Table 21 were similarly oriented toward the speculation aspect of residential tourism development in Montserrat.

In order to gain an adequate understanding of the process of reappropriation of land by residential tourism development, a discussion of the corporate dimension of residential development in Montserrat is useful. As was pointed out earlier, Montserrat Real Estate Company initiated residential development in Montserrat in 1960. It was conceived by two Americans, Herbert Rogers and Arthur Lenssen who pursuaded a group of investors to put money into the scheme. Montserrat Real Estate started development in the Old Road (Old Towne) area. The land was purchased from the Hollender-Kirwan family. It was not possible to determine how much Montserrat Real Estate paid for the 150 acres at Old Towne. It is possible, however, to arrive at an approximation seeing as EC$500 (Eastern Caribbean Currency) per acre was paid by the company for 182 acres of Woodlands Estate, the same year, to the Howes family (see Table 22).

It seems that Montserrat Real Estate did not do very well during the first three years of development. The major problem was that sales of plots did not raise enough cash to keep the development going. This was, in turn, caused by the fact that lots of 1/3 to 1/2 acre were sold for US$500 regardless of size or location. Moreover, the investors who had provided the initial capital picked out prime lots to protect their investment.

In 1963, Montserrat Real Estate faced collapse: Mr. John Willem of West Indies Plantations Ltd. (see below) pursuaded a real estate promoter from New York, H. Schlossberg, to join the company. West Indies

Table 22

Land Transfers and Options on Land in Connection with the Development of Tourism in Montserrat, 1959-1967

Estate	Acreage	Vendor	Purchaser	Year	Purchaser's Interest
A. Transfer by title or deed					
Richmond	13	M/rat Co. (England) Ltd.	M/rat Dev. Assoc.	1959	Resort tourism
Old Road	150	Heirs of Kirwan et al	Herbert Rogers	1960	Residential tourism
Woodlands	182	Est. of S.W. Howes	" "	1960	" "
Old Road	42.05	Heirs of Kirwan et al	M/rat Real Estate Co.	1960	" "
Old Road	46.95	" " "	" " "	1961	" "
Hermitage	837.50	Wade Plantations Ltd.	Linton Mark	1962	Holding
Tuitts	604.50	" "	" "	1962	"
Old Road	5.25	Heirs of Kirwan et al	Osborne Hotels Ltd.	1962	Resort tourism
" "	26.53	" " "	M/rat Real Estate Co.	1962	Residential tourism
Tuitts	150.00	Linton Mark	Leeward Island Dev. Co.	1962	" "
Olveston	960.00	M/rat Co. (England)	Montserrat Co. M/rat	1962	Holding
Isles Bay	222.00	" "	" "	1962	"
Richmond	630.00	" "	" "	1962	"
O'Garros	1205.00	" "	" "	1962	"
Elberton	525.00	" "	" "	1962	"
Little Bay	200.00	Mary Edgecombe	Leeward Island Co.	1963	
Banks	17.00	D.A. Allen	Arthur Lenssen	1963	Residential tourism
Richmond	37.58	M/rat Co. (M/rat).	Montserrat Estates Ltd.	1963	" "
Elberton	389.40	" "	" "	1963	" "
Olveston	407.05	" "	" "	1963	" "
Isles Bay	171.50	" "	" "	1963	" "
O'Garros	192.35	" "	" "	1963	" "
Olveston	108.00	Montserrat Estates Ltd.	Montserrat Real Estate	1964	" "
Woodlands	105.00	Est. of S.W. Howes	M " "	1964	
Tuitts	48.85	Linton Mark	Leeward Island Dev. Co.	1964	" "
"	6.29	Leeward Island Dev. Co.	M/rat Hotels	1964	Resort tourism
Olveston	59.00	Est. of S.W. Howes	Montserrat Co. (M/rat)	1964	Residential tourism
Isles Bay	4.51	Montserrat Co. (M/rat)	M/rat Estates Ltd.	1965	Residential tourism
Old Road	21.64	Heirs of Kirwan et al	Old Road Inv. Co. Ltd.	1965	
Tuitts	19.60	Linton Mark	Marlin Ltd.	1965	
Olveston	5.04	Montserrat Co. (M/rat)	Tamarak Estates	1967	
Little Bay	244.71	Leeward Island Co. Ltd.	M/rat Estates Ltd.	1966	" "
Paradise		Beryl Griffin	" "	1967	" "
Farrells	1612.00	C. Maginley	" "	1967	" "
Bugby Hole		Florence O'Connor	" "	1967	" "

Source: Montserrat Register of Titles and Deeds

Plantations Ltd. had acquired a minority interest in Montserrat Real Estate. Schlossberg specialized in mail-order selling of real estate in the Southwestern United States.

Table 23

Residential Tourism Development Companies in Montserrat, their National Ties, Acreage Acquired and Acreage Subdivided in 1970

Company	National Ties	Acreage Acquired	Acreage Subdivided
West Indies Plantations Ltd.	Canadian	3350	320
Montserrat Real Estate Company Ltd.	American	882.11	613
Leeward Island Development Company	Canadian	192.56	150
Total:		4424.67	1083

Source: Montserrat Register of Titles and Deeds; Montserrat, 1970

Montserrat Real Estate and Schlossberg decided to initiate a vacation-home project on the company's Woodlands property. The project was called Montserrat Beachettes, after a similar development in St. Maarten. The Beachettes project was very successful in terms of sales. In its sales promotion literature, the company emphasized the presence of paved roads, utilities, beach houses, and a golf course in Old Towne, on land that was rented from the Hollender-Kirwan family. The golf course is located on alluvial land just below the Vue Pointe Hotel. Montserrat Real Estate sold all of its lots in the three subdivisions it developed and its involvement in Montserrat rapidly declined after 1968. The company closed its office in Montserrat during the period of my fieldwork in 1971.

Residential tourism development on the Windward side of the island was carried out by a Canadian real estate investor, K.G. Eaton, beginning in 1961. Eaton's company was called Leeward Islands Development Company Ltd.; its subdivision on one of the former Wade Plantations Ltd. estates was called Spanish Pointe. The Spanish Pointe development appears to have been carried out on a low cash basis, not unlike the Montserrat Real Estate approach. Leeward Islands Development purchased small areas of land from Linton Mark, an Antigua resident who had made a fortune in the Trinidad oil industry and who had acquired the estates of Wade Plantations Ltd. in Montserrat. Leeward Islands Development subdivided the small areas and marketed the lots in the Toronto area. The company's aim was to attract middle-income customers who would be willing to pay Can. $20 down and Can.$20 per month. The payment system compounded the cash problem which Eaton had in the first place. Linton Mark mortgaged all unsold lots and he received payment as the lots were sold.

Although sales went well, prices of lots in the Spanish Pointe development were approximately half of those being sold on the Leeward side in 1967. Leeward Islands Development was consistently short of the means necessary to develop the subdivisions properly. For example, instead of paving the roads, Eaton used salt and chemical herbicides to control grass and weeds. Complaints by lot owners led to several license suspensions by the Toronto Real Estate Board.

The moratorium which the Government placed on residential tourism development in 1968 also affected the Spanish Pointe subdivision. Although lots continued to be sold and resold, no new areas have been developed. The remainder of Linton Mark's property remains mostly idle.

Although the Leeward Islands Development operation at Spanish

Pointe was small, in comparison to what was happening on the Leeward side, it was shrouded in controversy during most of the decade. This was due to the fact that the Chief Minister of the island, Mr. William Bramble, had a 40% interest in Linton Mark's real estate enterprise in Montserrat. The political implications of Mr. Bramble's connection with the Spanish Pointe development will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

West Indies Plantations Ltd. was the last of the three companies to take part in the development of residential tourism in Montserrat. West Indies Plantations is presently the largest of the companies and also the largest landowner in the island, even though the area it has developed for residential tourism is relatively small (see Table 19).

The company's origin lies in the formation of a Canadian syndicate, in 1959, by Edmund Bovey, Spencer Clarke of Ontario Natural Gas Ltd. and Ralph Bourassa who owned a meat packing business in Montreal. The syndicate formed the Leeward Islands Company Ltd. in Montserrat to produce tomato paste for export to Canada (see Chapter VI). The tomato paste scheme failed and Bovey and associates made an attempt to take over the ailing Montserrat Company (England) Ltd. This company was still owned by the Quaker family who had founded it during the 19th century. It had lost money during most of the 1950's and all five estates were mortgaged to the Royal Bank of Canada. In 1960 the Bank threatened to foreclose.

In 1961 Bovey and associates formed West Indies Plantations Ltd. in Canada and floated Can.$500,000 in shares on the stockmarket. West Indies Plantations Ltd. then took over the Montserrat Company (England) Ltd. and turned Leeward Island Company into a Montserrat subsidiary. It created two other subsidiaries in Montserrat: Montserrat Company (Montserrat) Ltd. and Montserrat Estates Ltd. This gave West Indies Plantations Ltd. the following corporate structure:

Canadian Syndicate: West Indies Plantations Ltd.

Montserrat Subsidiaries: Montserrat Company (M/rat) Ltd.
Leeward Island Company Ltd.
Montserrat Estates Ltd.

The three subsidiaries were to have different functions in Montserrat. The Montserrat Company had taken over all the assets of the old Montserrat Company, including the estates and commercial enterprises such as Leeward Island Air Transport, a Ford Motor Car Agency and the Texaco agency. Leeward Island Company was to continue the tomato paste venture, as well as what was left of the old Montserrat Company's agricultural activity, now limited to small amounts of lime juice and banana cultivation on the higher altitudes of Olveston Estate. Montserrat Estates was created with the specific function of involving the company in residential tourism development.

Both Leeward Island Company and Montserrat Company eventually became non-operating, except for the fact that the Montserrat Company continued as the syndicate's land holding subsidiary. Montserrat Estates took over subdivision of Richmond Hill from the old Montserrat Company, expanded it and initiated development of the Olveston subdivision.

The creation of three subsidiaries of the West Indies Plantations in Montserrat had the specific function of a tax dodge. As Table 22 shows, considerable land transaction took place between the Montserrat Company and Montserrat Estates. If West Indies Plantations had directly involved itself in residential development in Montserrat, it would have had to pay income tax on trading profits. This could have amounted to considerable sums, seeing as land values appreciated enormously between the time West Indies Plantations acquired its property and the time it sold lots to residential tourists. By selling land designated for tour-

ism development to one of its subsidiaries in Montserrat, the appreciation of value showed up as a capital gain on the books of West Indies Plantations. At the time, there was no capital gains tax in Canada. An impression of the appreciation of land values may be gained from the fact that in 1960 estate land was sold to developers for 0.3 cents per square foot. In comparison, the following prices were paid in the subdivisions in 1970:

Table 24

Prices paid for Land in the Residential Subdivisions
1970

Residential Tourism Subdivisions	Price per Square Foot of Land EC Currency
Spanish Pointe	45¢
Olveston, Richmond, Woodlands	60¢ - 70¢
Isles Bay, Foxes Bay	75¢ - 100¢
Montserratian Subdivisions	
Corkhill - low density	50¢
- medium density	18¢

Source: Palvia, 1970

Resort tourism remained secondary to residential tourism during most of the decade. As I suggested earlier, it received its impetus from a recognition that there would be a need for accommodation if residential tourism were to develop.

Resort tourism is centered around the island's six hotels, entertainment, shopping, sight-seeing facilities, beaches and golf course. There are two restaurants and a discothesque that are frequented by tourists. These are located in Plymouth; regular dances, with steel bands, and a movie night are held at the Vue Pointe Hotel, which also sponsors

a 'barbecue-night' once a week. During the Christmas season, the Jaycees organize an annual "carnival" at the Plymouth Secondary School; the more traditional "jump-up" through the streets of Plymouth is held every New Year's Day.

There is little to be found in the way of the kinds of tourist shopping facilities that are so characteristic of most resort areas. Imported souvenirs are sold in the regular stores. In 1970, only three stores could be characterized as catering specifically to tourists. Two of the stores sold imported handicrafts, the third was a jewelry shop. The stores have considerable clientele among the residential tourists.

Although beaches that are suitable for swimming are located along the Leeward side of the island, white sandy beaches are found only in the extreme Northwest, at Little Bay and at Rendezvous Bay. These beaches are relatively far away and not easily accessible. Consequently, most sea bathing by resort tourists is done near Plymouth, at Foxes Bay and at Old Road, below the Vue Pointe Hotel. No beach facilities, except those provided by the hotels, are available anywhere.

While the entire island is beautiful, sight-seeing attractions are limited in number. The remains of an old fort are located on St. George's Hill and are easily accessible by car. Gage's Soufriere (sulpher spring) and the Great Alps Waterfall are more difficult to reach; the former requires a long uphill climb on foot, or the use of a 4-wheel drive vehicle, the waterfall can be reached on foot only. No real attempts have been made to develop these spectacular sights for tourist purposes.

Plymouth has a number of old buildings, as well as a hucksters'

market. Many of the smaller settlements offer beautiful vistas, but they are accessible by car, taxi or on foot, only. It was my impression in 1970-'71 that very few tourists venture away from the Plymouth-Old Road areas.

At the time of my field study, the hotels of Montserrat had a combined capacity of 88 rooms, or 176 beds[1]. Table 18 provides a breakdown of hotel accommodation according to location, number of rooms and beds, types of accommodation and available facilities. The table shows that the hotels in Montserrat are small. In addition, only the Vue Pointe Hotel offers the visitor a more or less complete set of services that are usually associated with a resort. Consequently, tourists staying at other hotels habitually converge upon the Vue Pointe.

In 1968, there were 7,125 visitors to Montserrat who declared "holidays" as the purpose of their visit. Of these, 910 were cruise ship passengers, leaving a total of about 6,300 resort tourists.

A number of factors contribute to the need to treat this figure with caution. This is due to the fact that a number of different categories of holiday visitors to Montserrat would not be expected to use hotels for lodging. They are the following:

1. Residential tourists other than retirees, visitors who stay with residential tourists and visitors who rent vacant homes in the subdivisions.

2. West Indian visitors who stay with relatives or in guest houses. This category includes Montserratians living in other islands (cf. Bryden, 1973:118).

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[1]This was the extent of hotel accommodation advertised by the Montserrat Tourist Board in 1970. Other accommodation includes private homes (rented out by residential tourists) and a few guest houses which cater primarily to West Indian visitors.

3. Ex-Montserratians who live in the U.S.A.[1], in Canada or in the United Kingdom.

It is impossible to determine, with accuracy, the number of visitors to Montserrat who use hotel space. The above suggests that such a figure is below the 7,125 who gave "holiday" as the purpose of their visit. Consequently, the real occupancy rate would be less than the 35% (in 1967) which is based on government records.

Low occupancy rates are largely a function of the seasonality of resort tourism (see Table 25). "The seasonality problem is exacerbated by the tendency of off-season visitors to stay for shorter periods and by the higher proportion of West Indian visitors in the summer months, a larger percentage of whom do not apparently utilize hotel capacity" (Bryden, 1973:118).

The above contributes to an explanation for the fact that Montserrat hotels are generally unprofitable enterprises. Apart from the Vue Pointe Hotel, and the much smaller Olveston House and Coconut Hill Hotel which resemble European style pensions, the other hotels are in perpetual financial trouble. These hotels represent 35% of the available rooms in the island. The Emerald Isle Hotel could not survive without the steady flow of visitors on official government business. The Wade Inn hotel and the Canadiana have changed lessees, and owners, several times in recent years.

Residential tourism and resort tourism are both based on and centered around the presence of pleasure and recreation-seeking foreign

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[1]Visitors from Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands are classified with those from the continental United States. A considerable number of Montserratians are temporary residents of the U.S. Virgin Islands.

Table 25

Distribution of Tourists: Seasonal and by Residence
1968

	U.S.A.		Canada		W. I.		U. K.		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Jan.	264	7.1	88	8.9	93	4.7	20	5.4	10	3.0	475	6.7
Feb.	475	13.6	201	20.4	70	3.6	42	11.4	46	14.0	834	11.7
March	399	11.5	193	19.6	114	5.8	23	6.3	15	4.6	744	10.4
April	252	7.2	98	10.0	186	9.5	32	8.7	55	16.8	623	8.7
May	139	4.0	51	5.2	97	4.9	64	17.4	36	11.0	387	5.4
June	244	7.0	34	3.5	292	14.9	16	4.3	18	5.5	604	8.5
July	327	9.4	52	5.3	239	12.2	41	11.1	27	8.2	686	9.6
Aug.	390	11.2	46	4.7	307	15.7	29	7.9	37	11.3	809	11.4
Sept.	117	3.4	23	2.3	100	5.1	11	3.0	34	10.4	285	4.0
Oct.	120	3.4	26	2.6	106	5.4	8	2.2	6	1.8	266	3.7
Nov.	224	6.4	51	5.2	91	14.6	21	5.7	21	6.4	408	5.7
Dec.	533	15.3	121	12.3	266	13.6	61	16.6	23	7.0	1004	14.1
Total:	3484	48.8	984	13.8	1961	27.5	368	5.2	328	4.6	7125	

Note: Includes all those who gave 'holiday' as the purpose of their visit.

Source: Montserrat Statistics Office

visitors. In order to obtain the goods and services required to realize the objective of pleasure and recreation, the tourists enter into various types of relationships with the Montserratian population. The two forms of tourism are obviously different in the sense that whereas the resort tourist relies on a hotel or resort, the residential tourist owns a house. This latter aspect adds two additional dimensions to residential tourism which are absent in the resort form. First, the relationships entered into with Montserratians tend to be ongoing. Secondly, residential tourists collectively relate to Montserratians as a group, as well as with the social groups that make up the local population. The specific character of these various types and levels of relationships will be discussed in Chapter VII.

A number of sectors of the economy of Montserrat have expanded in response to the growth of tourism. The remainder of the chapter will examine the extent to which the island's economic structure has been altered as a consequence.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF A QUASI-STAPLE ECONOMY

The overall effect of the growth of tourism in Montserrat can be summed up as follows: traditional ways and means of gaining a livelihood have given way to new ones. These new ways of making a living largely depend on the presence of foreign visitors.

Before the collapse of plantation agriculture, the basis for economic life in Montserrat was provided by staple production for export. Montserrat typically reflected the condition of a dependent underdeveloped economy where "the dynamic of the system is basically derived from the expansion of primary export activities..." (Sunkel, 1973:143).

The relationship between basic and derived sectors of the economy

of Montserrat becomes apparent when we analyse contributions to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) during the 1950's and 1960's, i.e., before and after the switch from staple to quasi-staple export. Even though the 1950's saw a decline of staple production and increased dependence on remittances, it is possible to demonstrate the structural relationship between cotton production on the one hand, and the Engineering-Construction and Distribution-Transport-Finance sectors, on the other. Multiple Regression Analysis is applied to changes in the contributions to the Gross Domestic Product which were summarized by O'Loughlin (1959)[1].

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[1] We are using multiple regression in this instance as a descriptive tool to examine the relative effect of several independent variables on two dependent variables. The technique makes it possible to represent the relative impact which each independent variable makes on changes in the dependent variable, while all of the other independent variables are controlled. This relative impact is indicated by the size and sign of the standardized regression co-efficients.

In Table 26 for example, we find that the relative impact of Remittances on Engineering-Construction (with a co-efficient of 1.45) is more than twice as large as the impact of cotton on the same dependent variable (co-efficient=0.67). Changes in Government, on the other hand, are negatively associated with Engineering-Construction, since a unit change in Government has the effect of reducing Engineering-Construction by a factor of 0.11.

The value of r^2 provides an indication of the proportion of variance in the dependent variable which is "explained" by the combination of independent variables. Thus we find in Table 26 that by taking Cotton, Government and Remittances together, we can account for 0.96 or 96% of the variance in Engineering-Construction.

Table 26

Standardized Regression Co-efficients
1953-1957

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables				
	Cotton	Government	Remittances	Multiple R2	Number of Cases
Engineering-Construction	0.67	-0.11	1.45	0.96	5
Distribution-Transport-Finance	1.17	-0.10	1.99	0.71	5

Note: Values for Cotton, Government (as an index for Grants-in-Aid), Engineering-Construction and Distribution-Transport-Finance were obtained from Table 27. Values for Remittances are listed in Table 28.

As the number of cases in Table 26 is very small, the co-efficients should be regarded with a certain caution. They do, however, provide support for the application of Sunkel's model to Montserrat. Moreover, when cotton and remittances are controlled for in the analysis, it appears that the low value for Government indicates a relatively minor role for grants-in-aid. Moreover, the suggestion in Chapter IV, that during the 1950's remittances tended to be used for home construction and renovation, as well as for household expenses (cf. Power, 1974:14) is supported by the high value of the co-efficients for remittances. When remittances are controlled for, the structure of the staple economy appears in terms of the relationship between basic and derived sectors. However, due to migration and the receipt of remittances the decline of staple production during the 1950's is not manifested directly by changes in the derived sectors. Rather the effects are masked by remittances.

The effects of the growth of tourism become apparent when we look at changes in the contributions to the Gross Domestic Product and the Balance of Visible Trade during the 1960's (Tables 29 and 30).

Table 27

Contributions to the G.D.P. of Montserrat by Sectors
1953-1957

	'53		'54		'55		'56+		'57	
	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%
Cotton	239.8	10	324.4	12	223.0	9	-9.2	-0.4	208.8	7
Other Primary	982.5	41	1024.3	39	1057.5	41	1146.0	45	1200.7	42
Secondary	25.0	1	28.0	1	24.0	1	27.0	1	23.0	1
Engineering-Construction	147.5	6	172.2	7	188.8	7	185.7	7	201.2	7
Distribution-Transport Finance	351.9	15	384.2	15	375.6	15	363.9	14	382.3	13
Personal-Entertainment	50.2	2	56.5	2	54.3	2	53.1	2	54.8	2
Rent of Dwellings	122.5	5	122.5	5	122.5	5	122.5	5	122.5	4
Government	481.3	20	499.9	19	520.6	20	634.4	25	663.2	23
Total:	2400.7		2612.0		2566.3		2523.4		2856.5	

+ No cotton crop in 1956 due to a change in the planting date

Source: O'Loughlin, 1959:162

Table 28

Remittance by Money or Postal Order, Montserrat
1950-1970

Year	Remittances	Year	Remittances
1950	61,887	1960	616,811
51	72,418	61	608,818
52	76,170	62	531,469
53	81,111	63	458,569
54	126,567	64	485,569
55	405,726	65	-
56	588,749	66	-
57	560,285	67	290,715
58	550,132	68	245,000+
59	507,426	69	200,000
		70	158,000+

+Estimates
Sources: Philpott, 1973; Montserrat Statistics Office; Palvia, 1970

Table 29

Contributions to the G.D.P. by Sectors
Montserrat, 1961-1970

Sectors	1961		1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967	1968		1969		1970	
	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	$ 000	%	$ 000	%	$ 000	%
Agriculture	1435	41	1586	41	1365	35	1400	31	1406	25	1464	23	-	1656	18	1764	18	1888	16
Industry	70	2	70	2	78	2	85	2	88	2	100	2	-	368	4	294	3	354	3
Construction	280	8	430	11	585	15	900	20	1242	22	1335	21	-	1472	16	1470	15	2124	18
Commerce	385	11	405	11	429	11	625	14	756	13	908	14	-	2116	23	2352	24	2596	22
Transport-Communication	35	1	43	1	39	1	40	1	56	1	91	1	-	184	2	196	2	236	2
Other	1295	37	1292	33	1404	36	1450	32	2064	37	2477	39	-	3496	38	3822	39	4720	40
Total:	3500		3825		3900		4500		5612		6375			9292		9898		11918	

'Other' sector includes insurance, real estate and business services, community, social and personal services, public administration and finance.

Sources: United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1972;
British Development Division in the Caribbean, 1969

Table 30

Balance of Visible Trade
Montserrat, 1961-1970

Year	Balance of Trade	Year	Balance of Trade
	$ 000		$ 000
1961	-1833	1966	-
62	-1991	67	-5046
63	-2404	68	-5529
64	-3698	69	-6942+
65	-4617	70	-8355

+Estimate based on trend

Source: British Development Division in the Caribbean, 1969; West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook, 1971

Tourism is an "invisible" export (Gray, 1970; Peters, 1969), or a quasi-staple, i.e., tourism is not a commodity produced by labor and sold. Tourism, instead, involves the presence of commodity-buying foreign visitors. In the pursuit of pleasure and recreation the tourist purchases goods and services in the host country with money brought in from outside. In other words, while growth of export staple production shows up in the contribution of agriculture, or mining, to the Gross Domestic Product, the effect of tourism expansion is indirectly expressed in the form of increases in the contributions of other sectors.

Given the importance of residential tourism in Montserrat, it is logical to assume that its growth would be reflected by increases in the Construction and Commerce sectors of the economy, in particular, as they are the main derived sectors of a tourism-based economy. Table 29 shows that this is indeed so. Agriculture's contribution declined from 41% in 1961 to only 16% in 1970. This was due to the virtual disappearance of staple production (the total value of the cotton crop in 1970-71 was only EC$21,465 [Yearbook of the Commonwealth, 1973]), but also because

domestic agriculture became increasingly marginal to economic life (see Chapter VI). On the other hand, Construction and Commerce expanded at enormous rates, 659% and 574% respectively.

In order to get an impression of capital investment in the development of tourism, it is useful to consider changes in the value of the negative balance of trade (Table 30). This deficit is made good by invisible export earnings, foreign investment and foreign aid. To the host country, tourism is an invisible export, paid for by the tourist dollars spent by tourists. The development of tourism required investment of capital by both private investors and foreign governments in the form of foreign aid. The negative value of the balance of trade is therefore a positive measurement of the total amounts of money (minus remittances) which entered the economy of Montserrat and which made up the gap between imports and exports of visibles. It is therefore a measure of the combined value of private investment capital, tourist dollars and foreign aid. The annual changes in its value represent an index for the rate of investment in tourism. Remittances are the only other source of money which served to close the balance of payments gap.

Balance of Trade figures and annual remittances along with the contributions of sectors of the economy to the Gross Domestic Product provide us with an opportunity to observe changes in the structure of Montserrat's economy as a result of the growth of tourism (Tables 31 and 32). The declining value of remittances in relation to construction and commerce, in Table 31, indicates that remittances no longer played the significant role in the economy of Montserrat which they did in the previous decade. Moreover, treating remittances as an "independent variable" during the 1960's may be inappropriate, the push-factor

of migration had no doubt decreased as a result of the development of tourism, while the pull-factor had decreased as a result of immigration restrictions in the United Kingdom.

Table 31

Standardized Regression Co-efficients
1960's

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables: Agriculture	Remittances	Balance of Trade	Multiple R2	Number of Cases
Construction	0.06	-0.30	0.64	0.97	7
Commerce	0.26	-0.46	0.31	0.97	7

A revised analysis, one which includes only Agriculture and Balance of Trade as independent variables, demonstrates the structural changes even more dramatically. Table 32 shows the dependence of the construction and commerce sectors on tourism investment. Additional support for this is provided by Palvia (1970) who reports that 80% of all investment in Montserrat is in construction.

Table 32

Standardized Regression Co-efficients
1960's
Revised Analysis

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables: Agriculture	Balance of Trade	Multiple R2	Number of Cases
Construction	0.09	0.90	0.96	7
Commerce	0.31	0.70	0.96	7

A comparison with St. Kitts further demonstrates the changes in the economy of Montserrat. Table 33 shows that agriculture declined markedly in Montserrat, while other sectors increased sharply. In St. Kitts, on the other hand, there was little change. While Montserrat's

Gross Domestic Product increased 66.6% between 1962 and 1966, the Gross Domestic Product of St. Kitts rose only by 13.9% during the same period.

Table 33

Proportionate Contributions to G.D.P. by Selected Sectors, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anquilla and Montserrat, 1962 and 1966

	St. Kitts-Nevis-Anquilla		Montserrat	
	1962	1966	1962	1966
Agriculture	43.5	39.2	36.2	23.0
Hotels & Services	6.3	7.5	3.2	7.4
Construction	9.6 - 30.0	7.2 - 29.8	11.2 - 25.0	21.0 - 42.6
Distribution - Finance	14.1	15.1	10.6	14.2
Government	17.6	22.4	26.4	26.1

Source: Adapted from Bryden, 1973: Appendix Table 3A.2

Earlier in the chapter I pointed to the large areas of former plantation land that were purchased by residential tourism developers. It is clear from Table 21 that in comparison only small parcels of land were purchased by the developers of resort tourism. The growth of the two forms of tourism, together, resulted in a massive re-allocation of land from agricultural use to non-productive land use patterns. By taking the total acreage given in Table 17 as a baseline, 42% of estate property was re-allocated for tourism development.

Actual subdivision and resort development resulted in the permanent alienation from agricultural production of 1,126 acres. According to the Tripartite Report (1967:126), 72% of the land was classified as good or medium agricultural land. Most of the land set aside for local residential development, at Dagenham, Weekes and also at Amersham, was good for both vegetable and traditional staple crops; much of the land is

level and some of it was cleared of rocks. Due to the combined effects of residential development for tourism and local use, 1/8 of the total arable land area was lost during the 1960's. In addition, several thousand acres are owned by the development companies which have little interest in agriculture. Much of the land is good agricultural land but is lying idle for the most part. It seems to me that this is at least partly due to the fact that the land is available to farmers only on a year to year basis. The same can be said of land which has remained in the hands of the planter families who anticipated sales to the developers.

The process of re-allocation of capital and land was accompanied by similar changes in employment patterns. Table 34 summarizes employment according to industrial sectors in 1946 and 1970, using Census data. The table also shows employment of household heads in Corkhill Village in 1970, based on a household survey which I carried out in that settlement.

Table 34 demonstrates the declining role of agriculture as a source of livelihood and the shift of labor to tourism derived activities, Construction and Commerce-Services. Significant in particular is the shift of women from agriculture to Commerce-Services. My survey of household heads in Corkhill reveals the existence of important regional differences with respect to employment patterns. The settlement is in close proximity to both hotels and residential tourist subdivisions; it is also close to sources of employment in Plymouth. Very few people in the village are engaged in any type of agricultural production, either as farmers or as wage workers. Until the collapse of plantation agriculture, the village supplied most of the labor to the surrounding cotton and lime estates. Most of the houses in the village are located on former

Table 34

Montserrat: Employment by Industrial[1] Sector, 1946, 1969, 1970

	Montserrat, 1946[2]			Montserrat, 1970[3]			Corkhill Village, 1970[4]		
	Males	Females	M & F	Males	Females	M & F	Males	Females	M & F
Agriculture	57.0	62.3	59.7	20.2	20.6	20.4	12.9	4.5	10.6
Industry	9.9	9.6	10.6	5.9	4.3	5.4	25.8	4.5	20.0
Construction	14.5	4.8	9.5	36.4	2.6	24.7	27.4	0	20.0
Commerce & Services	11.2	22.5	17.0	28.4	68.1	42.1	22.6	91.3	41.2
Transport & Communication	3.9	0.4	2.1	7.1	2.3	5.5	4.8	0	3.5
Other & Non-Specified	1.1	0.4	0.7	2.0	2.0	2.0	6.5	0	4.7

[1]Data from different sources necessitated some grouping together of categories as well as some arbitrariness in category assignment in the case of the Corkhill data.

[2]Gainfully occupied population over 10 years of age.

[3]All persons, 14 years and over, who were employed in principal industries.

[4]Employed household heads.

Sources: West Indian Census, 1946; 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 4, Part 16; Household Census of Corkhill Village, 1971, De Vries.

lands of the Montserrat Company that were sold to workers.

Employment in industry declined somewhat when males and females are considered together, but it increased overall for males; in Corkhill it took in 1/4 of the men, but only a few women. It should be noted that "industry" represents a broad range of activities, including minor repairs and manufacture, minor food and drink processing, as well as electricity and water works. The changes between 1946 and 1970, in industry, may in fact be due to changes in classification. On the other hand, of those classified under this heading in 1946, 77% were tailors, seamstresses and shoe makers, no doubt many of them only on a part-time basis (cf. Comitas, 1964).

The higher percentage of male household heads in Corkhill who were engaged in industry reflects the proximity of the village to Plymouth, where government workshops, food processing plants and repairshops are located. In the case of construction, one may note the overall increase in male employment, contrasted with the sharp decline of women. In 1946, a large percentage of those classified under this sector gave "carpenter" as occupation, traditionally a prestigious status. It would, however, be a mistake to assume high levels of skill and steady employment among the carpenters of 1946. In contrast, those engaged in construction in 1970 were overwhelmingly skilled and unskilled workers who were employed by the contractors.

Thus far, I have presented evidence for quantitative changes in the economy of Montserrat which accompanied the expansion of tourism. The evidence was in the form of changes in contributions to the Gross Domestic Product, landownership and land use, as well as employment patterns. These quantitative changes, while they reflect economic growth, are also

important manifestations of changes in the structure of the economy. The decline of production, in general, and of domestic agriculture in particular (see following chapter), reflect a general decline of the domestic economy. Consequently, the economic growth of the 1960's reflected the expansion of tourism-derived forms of economic activity. The growth of construction and commerce was externally propelled, by which I mean that Montserrat's economy became increasingly dependent on metropolitan investment in tourism and the spending of money by tourists.

It should be pointed out that while the development of residential tourism, represented by the creation of subdivisions and the construction of tourists' homes, was very rapid during the first part of the decade a reduction in the rate of growth took place during the latter part. Table 29 shows, for example, the declining contribution of construction during this period. The decline was reflected by an efflux of Montserratian construction labor to the Virgin Islands and to Bermuda (Palvia, 1970).

By 1968 commerce had become the highest contributing sector of the economy (taking into account the government portions, approximately 75% of the "other" sector). This trend is a reflection not only of a slowdown in subdivision and residential construction, but also of the fact that it was increasingly tourists dollars, spent by residential tourists on goods and services, rather than investment in tourism development, that fuelled the island's economy. The increase from 15% to 18% in the contribution of construction between 1969 and 1970 was the result of increased public investment: the new Airport Terminal, improvements in the water distribution system, a new office and residential complex for the Montserrat Police Force, and the construction of several schools. The

construction of an additional hotel by a metropolitan investor, in 1970, represented an expansion of resort tourism.

The changes in the ways and means in which Montserratians gain a livelihood reflect both the manner in which factors of production have been re-allocated and the uneven development of the island's economy. As was pointed out earlier, tourism development is concentrated in enclaves. It is in those parts of the island in particular that the style of life, among those whose livelihood is derived from tourism, has changed markedly. This is indicated in the decline of agricultural production, the fact that few households have provisions grounds, the reliance on store-bought food (mostly imported) and the acquisition of consumer goods. The style of life of those involved in activities which, in one way or another relate to tourism, is one derived from North American consumerism. In terms of occupational strata, it is lived most typically by the upper stratum, whose style of life assumes qualities that are very similar to those of the residential tourists. At the other end of the spectrum, in areas away from the centres of tourism, are the masses of Montserratians who continue to gain a measure of subsistence from the land. In a real sense, their existence has become more precarious: on the one hand tourism development and the presence of tourists have made goods more expensive, on the other hand the underdevelopment of agriculture means that it is more difficult to gain a livelihood from the traditional means of subsistence.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, the growth of tourism resulted in the restoration of an externally propelled economy in Montserrat. The domestic economy became increasingly a periphery of the metropolis, as evidenced by the

concentration of factors of production in forms of economic activity whose growth or decline exactly parallels the growth or decline of tourism development. These structural changes in Montserrat's economy, in themselves, present obstacles to economic transformation. This is expressed particularly in domestic agriculture, whose marginalization will be discussed in Chapter VI. Beyond the economic consequences lie the social consequences of peripheralization. In Chapter VII I shall analyse the ways in which those consequences constitute further obstacles to social and economic transformation.

CHAPTER VI

TOURISM AND THE MARGINALIZATION OF DOMESTIC AGRICULTURE

It was shown in the last chapter that the growth of tourism in Montserrat effected re-establishment of an externally propelled economy. Factors of production were allocated in those sectors of the economy which had become dependent on the new export staple, thereby preventing structural transformation. In Chapters III and IV I pointed out that, traditionally, non-staple production took place "in the shadow of the plantation", on the margins of the staple economy. In this chapter I shall present evidence which shows that tourism also forced domestic agriculture to the margins of the tourist enclave, thereby recreating obstacles to economic and social transformation.

This hypothesis is based on the premise which was stated in Chapter I, that the growth of investment in sectors of the economy associated with, and dependent on, staple or quasi-staple production is detrimental to domestic agriculture.

Increasingly, domestic agriculture is seen as the cornerstone of development in a hinterland economy and society (cf. Johnston, 1970; Beckford, 1972). Bryden has shown, moreover, that the "most important 'domestic' sector from the point of view of autonomous income generation capacity is domestic agriculture,..." (1973:47 emphasis added). It is

this point of view, that the process of economic transformation must begin with the development of domestic agriculture, which will guide the analysis of tourism's effects on the agricultural economy of Montserrat. The discussion will emphasize the extent to which domestic agriculture has become more marginal to economic life in the island and the specific role of tourism in this process of marginalization.

1. DOMESTIC AGRICULTURE IN THE PRE-TOURISM STAPLE ECONOMY

In Chapter IV I discussed traditional relations of production in Montserrat's staple economy, in some detail. It was pointed out that increasingly, during the present century, staple production was carried out by households. It was shown that household staple production involved two sets of relations of production. On the one hand they were proletarian in nature, in that wages were paid in kind under the sharecropping system. On the other hand, as Table 10 showed, significant quantities of cotton were grown by household producers under different relations of production. These refer to ownership of land, rental contracts and squatting.

The term "peasant" (cf. Mintz, 1974; Beckford, 1972) is often employed with reference to household producers of agricultural products in the Caribbean. In Montserrat the term is used when referring to those producers who cultivate crops on land which they own, rent, or occupy as squatters. While there is an important difference in relations of production between "peasants" and sharecroppers, the means of production employed are the same. Moreover, one and the same person may be a wage worker, a sharecropper or a peasant. The seasonality of labor on the estates, as well as the fact that the availability of wage labor could vary from year to year, required many to engage in a number of activities

to obtain livelihood. Moreover, the social structure which specifically evolved as an adaptation to economic marginality, seasonality and insecurity was the household, a co-residential group which constitutes both a production and a consumption unit[1].

In this dissertation I make a fundamental distinction between household production and estate production. Staple production was dominated by the plantation, but over time, the plantation was less exclusively the context in which staple production took place. Sharecropping arrangements, into which the planter entered in order to maintain production during periods of adversity, shifted the production process from the estates to the household. Adversity also caused the planters to sell parcels of land; it forced Montserratians to migrate and send back remittances. These remittances, however, permitted increasing numbers of Montserratians to purchase plots of land. In other words, the very attempts by the planters to maintain some measure of profitability as well as the plantation system, in the face of adverse market conditions and declining productivity, effected a gradual but significant shift of staple production from the plantation to the household.

On the basis of differences of relations of production, a further distinction, between dependent and independent household production, is useful for the present analysis. I will define dependent household production with reference to sharecropping or other arrangements which directly link the household, as a production unit, to the plantation. In-

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[1] "...agriculture, petty trade, and other components of the subsistence sector have a special character as "self-employment" sectors of the economy because of institutional arrangements such as the peasant farm household which is both a unit of consumption and of production" (Johnston, 1970; cf. Clarke, 1957; cf. Gonsalez, 1969).

dependent household production is defined here on the basis of greater control over factors of production. Though the distinction between the two is clearly relative, nonetheless the major differences between the two forms lie in relations of production that allow a greater or lesser degree of freedom in decision making in the household. We saw, however, that any greater degree of freedom was tempered by marketing and credit arrangements with planters and merchants, in the case of staple production.

The distinction between independent and dependent household production gains greater significance when we consider non-staple production. This includes production for the domestic and regional markets of traditional root and vegetable crops. In contrast to staple production, domestic agriculture was overwhelmingly dominated by independent household producers[1]. The production of traditional foodcrops, therefore, was the domain of the household producer. Relations of production in domestic agriculture allowed considerable independence to the producer.

Independent household production in Montserrat antedates Emancipation. Its origin lies in adaptations by planters to economic decline and ecological conditions which left much estate property poorly suited to staple production. Under such conditions, it was often profitable for the planters to encourage their slaves to produce their own means of subsistence. This meant less expenditure on imported food.

A number of significant conclusions may be drawn from the social

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[1] Exceptions to this were a number of estates East of Plymouth, located in the Southwestern Farmlands, where conditions were not suited to cotton. My records indicate that Gages and Lees (Figure 3) had become "vegetable estates" by the end of the plantation era.

origins of domestic agriculture in Montserrat and, consequently, of independent household production. First, the origin of domestic agriculture and its mode of production lie in a dependent relationship between master and slave, between planter and plantation workers. In a very real sense, domestic agriculture originated and developed on the margins of the plantation. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that before and after Emancipation, marginalization of domestic agriculture, born out of subordination to export agriculture, was manifested by its expansion and decline according to market conditions for the export staple. Domestic agriculture expanded and contracted in inverse relation to staple production. As recently as the Second World War, the expansion of cotton production jeopardized food production in the island (Department of Agriculture, Annual Reports).

It seems, then, that while domestic agriculture has had the potential of providing economic life with an internal dynamic, its dependence vis a vis staple production in a hinterland economy relegated it to subordinate status and ultimate marginalization. The dominant position of capital invested in staple production robbed independent household production of adequate access to factors of production. Monopolization of productive land by the plantocracy was a crucial factor in this respect. Nevertheless, post-War decay of the staple economy created conditions whereby independent household production could assume its role in the development of domestic agriculture. At the same time, those conditions also represented ideal opportunities for the introduction of tourism, i.e., investment in a quasi-staple economy and consequent marginalization of domestic agriculture.

2. EVIDENCE FOR MARGINALIZATION OF DOMESTIC AGRICULTURE DURING THE EXPANSION OF TOURISM

The evidence for the declining role and underdevelopment of domestic agriculture in Montserrat and its reduction to the periphery of the quasi-staple sector will be presented with respect to four variables. These are: Gross Domestic Product, self-sufficiency in food, patterns of land use and employment in agriculture.

In Chapter V we saw that one of the ways in which the structural changes in Montserrat's economy were expressed was in the declining role of agriculture in terms of contributions to the Gross Domestic Product. Table 29 also showed that those sectors of the economy which are directly associated with tourism increased at tremendous rates. While the economy in general experienced rapid growth, the value of Domestic Agriculture increased by only 11% between 1962 and 1970.

The marginalization of domestic agriculture becomes even more apparent when one considers changes in food self-sufficiency. A methodology to estimate this is employed by Bryden (1973:32,33). It involves determination of the value of the total product of domestic agriculture, in relation to the value of the total food supply, domestically produced and imported. Table 35 shows that domestic agriculture failed to provide for increases in the demand for food that resulted from the expansion of tourism during the 1960's. Montserrat's self-sufficiency for food declined at an increasing rate toward the end of the decade, even though tourism expanded at a lower rate after 1968.

In this context it is instructive to consider the period between 1953 and 1957, when the staple economy of the island experienced rapid decay. Table 36 shows that food self-sufficiency increased during that period, from 64% in 1953 to 69.8% in 1957. Moreover, this increase in

Table 35

Changes in Montserratian Food
Self-Sufficiency
1962-1966-1970

	1962	1966	% Change	1970	% Change
Value of Domestic Agriculture[1] (A) $ 000	1300	1410	+ 0.1	1437	+ 1.9
Value of Food Imports after Duty[2] (B) $ 000	726	1219	+67.9	2104	+72.6
Total Value of Food Supplies (C)=(A)+(B) $ 000	2026	2629	+29.8	3541	+34.7
Self-sufficiency in Food (A)/(C)x100	64.1%	53.6%	-16.0	40.5%	-24.0

Notes:

1. Refers to value-added, i.e., an average of 85% of gross output
2. Total food imports plus 8% duty (Bryden, 1973:34)

Sources: Bryden, 1973:34;
United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1972; A Yearbook of the Commonwealth, 1973:558;
United Nations, ND

self-sufficiency occurred while household income was increased as a result of the receipt of remittances.

Table 36

Changes in Self-Sufficiency of Food, 1953-1957

	1953	1957	% Change
Value of Domestic Agriculture (A) $000	835.1	1020	22.1
Value of Food Imports after Duty (B) $000	468.8	442.2	-5.7
Value of Total Food Supplies (C) (A) (B) $000	1303.9	1462.2	12.1
Self-sufficiency in Food (A)/(C)x100	64.0%	69.8%	9.1

Source: O'Loughlin, 1959; Montserrat Reports for 1953 and 1957

In the early 1960's a number of attempts were made to expand agricultural production. This involved both private and public capital. In 1960 a tomato paste factory was opened by the Leeward Island Company, a Canadian owned enterprise. The company's aim was to process locally grown tomatoes into paste and juice for the Canadian market. Initially, tomatoes were grown by household producers and sold to the company. Although the scheme was hailed as a major stimulus to the economy of Mont-

serrat, growers soon became disillusioned with the low prices (1¢ per lb.) that were paid by the company for their produce. In 1962 the growers stopped supplying the company with tomatoes. Leeward Island Company then attempted to grow the tomatoes themselves, using their own equipment. The factory closed in 1963 after it was realized that paste and tomatoes could not be produced economically.

The government of Montserrat tried to involve household producers in production of sugar cane, especially in the settlement areas. For this purpose the old muscovado mill at Parsons was restored and a new one was planned for Lees. Part of the cane was milled at Farrell's for the production of rum for the local market, by Farrell's Syndicate, a locally owned enterprise. The rest of the crop was used for export to Dominica, in the form of syrup. In 1965, growers became dissatisfied and cane production rapidly declined. The Farrell's operation, too, was closed soon afterward, in 1968.

An attempt by the government to expand banana cultivation for export collapsed similarly only a few years after its inception. Bananas were grown primarily by household producers and shipped to Dominica on a government sloop which made bi-monthly trips. In 1964 the banana sloop was lost at sea. In 1966 a hurricane destroyed 80% of the banana crop. Banana cultivation for export disappeared in subsequent years.

Another attempt by the government to resuscitate the island's agricultural economy was a rockraking program in the land settlements. By 1966 approximately 273 acres had thus been improved with the help of Colonial Development and Welfare grants. At the end of the decade, the rockraking machinery was sitting idle as was most of the improved land.

In addition to the attempts by government, a number of non-Montserra-

tians saw a great future in large-scale vegetable production for export to the regional and North American markets. By the middle of the decade, Donnenborg Farms, Belvedere Farms and Sturge's Farm were growing vegetables as well as bananas, on former estate lands, essentially by means of the traditional plantation system, as far as the organization and relations of production were concerned. None of the enterprises lasted for more than a few years. Only Donnenborg Farms is still in existence, as a beef operation.

Thus, by the end of the decade, various schemes to develop household production of export crops had failed. The re-introduction of the plantation system of production of vegetables, for the regional and North American markets, was similarly unsuccessful.

At the time of my field study all of the large schemes, except for the Donnenborg beef operation at Farrell's and another beef operation at Waterwork Estate, had disappeared. Most of the land involved was lying idle. Domestic agriculture, then, is virtually entirely in the hands of household producers. In terms of land use, it involves production of food crops, animal husbandry and the harvesting of tree crops.

Most of the household production of food crops takes place in a small area east of Plymouth on Lees Estate. The land in this area is very fertile and ideally suited for vegetable production. The government leases 109 acres of the estate which is rented out to 108 producers. Although an additional 1,900 acres of land are owned or leased by the government for the purpose of land settlement, I saw very little intensive cultivation at Parsons, Amersham, Galways, or at Trants. Indeed, most of the crop land seems to be used for grazing purposes. Food production on most of the island has given way to very extensive animal husbandry. Apart from the successful operation at Lees Estate, most cultivation is carried

out in nucleated areas scattered throughout the island.

It is still very common to see shifting cultivation being practiced in ghauts and high up in the mountains. Here and there one sees smoke rising, indicating the preparation of fields. An apparent contradiction obtains between these marginal cultivation practices and the fact that the vast majority of land on the government settlements remains unused in terms of field crop production.

With respect to actual patterns of land use, in 1970, I estimate that cultivation of field crops has declined to less than 1,000 acres. Of the 5,464 acres that were listed under field crops and grass in 1966 (Table 1), as much as 80% is used for grazing.

The decrease of agricultural land use for cultivation of field crops is reflected by steady declines in export of vegetables to neighboring islands.

Table 37

Principle Vegetable Exports 1965-1969

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Carrots (lbs.)	4,269	na	na	295	2,993
Tomatoes (lbs.)	230,000	60,000	40,000	24,766	35,770
Eschalots (lbs.)	3,819	969	na	400	nil
Peppers (lbs.)	17,493	17,272	43,721	42,149	15,171

Note: These do not include small quantities of produce marketed by hucksters.

Source: Montserrat, 1970:9

The decreases shown in Table 37 occurred in spite of the fact that there is a growing demand for Montserrat produced vegetables in neighboring islands and the fact that prices paid are good.

The shift from food crops production to extensive animal husbandry is reflected by changes in livestock numbers:

Table 38

Principle Livestock

	Average 1961-1965	1970
cattle	5,000	7,000
pigs	3,000	2,000
sheep	2,000	4,000
goats	4,000	1,000
poultry	25,000	29,000

Source: United Nations, ND

There were three large cattle operations in 1970 which together involved a few hundred head of cattle. Two of these were private, Donnenborg Farms at Farrell's Estate and a herd at Waterwork Estate. The third herd is managed by the Department of Agriculture at Amersham.

More important, in terms of the development of domestic agriculture, is the manner in which livestock is kept. Cattle are owned mostly by individuals who own two or three animals. Typically, the animals are tethered on some parcel of land which is not used for anything else; in the morning and again in the evening the owner moves the animals to a fresh spot. Goats and sheep are kept in a similar manner, although women and children appear to play a more important role in their management. In some parts of the island, the goats and sheep roam freely.

In Corkhill Village, 27% of the households kept livestock. Cattle ranged from one to, at the most, four animals per household; goats and sheep from one to four; one or two pigs and variable numbers of chickens.

Free-ranging flocks of goats and sheep are found in the Northeast.

Virtually all the land in this area has reverted back to bushy grassland and constitutes a mediterranean type of landscape. The region is accessible by four wheel drive vehicle or on foot only.

Employment patterns, even more so than land use, reflect the peripheralization of domestic agriculture. They can be looked at in terms of four variables: overall employment, and employment according to sex, age and region. Table 34 showed us that on an overall basis, employment in agriculture has declined by over 60% and that in the island as a whole, most of the shift was to the construction and commerce-services sectors of the economy. When male-female differences are taken into account, we see that women are overwhelmingly employed in commerce and services, which includes domestic service. The shift of employment is more equally divided between construction and commerce-services, in the case of males.

Regional differences are indicated by the data of a household survey which I carried out in Corkhill Village. As was pointed out earlier, this settlement saw a virtually complete shift of its economic base, from agriculture to tourism derived activities, as far the sources for livelihood are concerned. The marginalization of agriculture is indicated by the very small numbers of people who still depend on agriculture as a main source of livelihood. Employment of females in this village appears to have shifted even more heavily to commerce and services than is the case in the island as a whole. Indeed, a large number of the females were employed as domestics by residential tourists, or in the hotels. Of those who were employed in agriculture, two worked for the Department of Agriculture at the nearby Grove station and one worked for Donnenborg Farms. Of the remaining household heads involved in agri-

culture, eight called themselves farmers and grew food crops on government land. The total area cultivated constituted a rather small parcel along the main road from Plymouth. Cultivation was carried out during part of the year only.

My data for Corkhill suggest that in the tourist enclaves, where non-agricultural employment is relatively readily available, agriculture as a source of livelihood has declined even more drastically than it has in the island as a whole. The extreme example represented by Corkhill is replicated in such settlements as Kinsale, south of Plymouth, Friths and Salem to the north. In general, this applies throughout the tourist enclaves around and to the north of Plymouth. It means that outside these enclaves, agriculture is still more important as a source of livelihood, something that was confirmed by my impressions when visiting the northern, southern and eastern regions. The area immediately east of Plymouth is unique in the sense that conditions are optimal for vegetable cultivation.

Finally, Table 39 sums up the effects of marginalization of agriculture with respect to age. In the case of both men and women, the percentage of those 50 year and over is very high. The association between agriculture and old age is further emphasized when one takes into account the fact that the size of the 50 years-and-over age group is 45% smaller, in the case of males and 32% smaller for females, than the 15-49 age group. Visual impressions confirmed that most of those at work in the fields and gardens are older men and women.

The marginalization of domestic agriculture is also indicated by by changes in lifestyle and the valuation of agriculture as a way of life. Changes in lifestyle have contributed to an increase in the demand for im-

Table 39

Employment in Agriculture According to Age and Sex
Montserrat, 1970

Age Group	Males	%	Females	%	Males and Females	%
14 years	2	0.7	0	0	2	0.2
15-19 "	47	8.6	11	4.2	58	7.2
20-24 "	21	3.8	11	4.2	32	4.0
25-29 "	17	3.1	11	4.2	28	3.5
30-34 "	23	4.2	16	6.2	39	4.8
35-39 "	38	6.9	12	4.6	50	6.2
40-44 "	43	7.9	28	10.8	71	8.8
45-49 "	47	8.6	36	13.9	83	10.3
50-54 "	59	10.8	31	12.0	90	11.2
55-59 "	70	12.8	35	13.5	105	13.0
60-64 "	70	12.8	28	10.8	98	12.2
65 years and over	110	20.1	40	15.4	150	18.6
Total Agriculture	547	100.0	259	100.0	806	100.0

Source: 1970 Population Census of the Commonwealth Caribbean, Vol. 4, Part 16, Economic Activity, Occupation and Industry

ported products, food in particular. They have also contributed to the creation of residential subdivisions for Montserratians on former agricultural land. Agriculture as a way of life carries very little prestige and the valuation of land as a means of agricultural production has further decreased.

Although the expansion of tourism directly accounts for both the increase in food imports and the loss of agricultural land, Montserratians themselves have undergone changes in lifestyle which have fostered greater consumption of imported goods. One of the ways in which this manifests itself is in a shift from locally produced to imported food items. The three supermarkets in Plymouth carry a complete range of metropolitan produced foods in a form, in terms of packaging, preferred by metropolitan tastes. The relation between tourism and domestic agriculture is very much reflected by the roles which the supermarkets and the local market play in patterns of consumption. Whereas the supermarkets are a symbol of dependence on the metropolis and resulting changes in lifestyle, the Saturday Plymouth market represents domestic agriculture. Status differences largely determine the extent to which a person relies on neatly packaged imported meats, at the supermarket, or frequents the Plymouth market, where animals are slaughtered at night and the meat is sold in chunks. The same applies to many other foods. There is no doubt that traditional root crops, such as dasheen and casava play a much smaller role in caloric intake at the present time than they did in the past.

The reliance on imported foods by those who have the means to do so is reflected in another aspect of lifestyle -type and location of homes. Entire residential subdivisions have been created around Plymouth, in recent years, at Parsons, Dagenham and at Weekes. The residential pat-

terns in the subdivisions reflect those of the residential tourists, to the extent that financial means will allow. These subdivisions are located away from the older and more congested residential parts of Plymouth; living there requires the use of a car to go to work, for shopping and visiting. Lots tend to be large. Outside Corkhill, for example, the Government has acquired land for a residential subdivision consisting of 70 lots of ½ acre, 70 lots of ¼ acre and 33 lots of 1/3 acre (Montserrat, 1970:26). This subdivision, like the others that were created for Montserratians, is located on former cropland.

The practice of agriculture carries little prestige. While it is true that employment in other activities is comparatively plentiful[1], and wages are higher for non-agricultural labor (Montserrat, 1970:24), important non-economic motives play a role. Agricultural production is carried out by household producers. Involvement in agricultural production as a source of livelihood, represents a lifestyle which is historically associated with poverty. Work in the fields retains demeaning qualities that are associated with subordinate status. The means of production have changed very little since the 1950's. Although government plowing and crop spraying are now more readily available, the production process in general and the character of agricultural labor, in particular, remain defined by the traditional implement, the hoe. Migration was traditionally an escape from the demeaning quality of agriculture; in the 1960's it was employment created by the growth of tourism

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[1]Unemployment in Montserrat, in 1970, was low in comparison with other West Indian territories. Unemployment among males was 2.3%, for females it was 5.8% of the labour force (Roberts, 1974:Table 11).

which provided the escape route.

The expansion of tourism was accompanied by the re-marginalization of domestic agriculture. This process reinforced the traditional association of agriculture with low status and was, in turn, reinforced by it. Current attitudes to land, to locally produced food and to agriculture in general as a source of livelihood and as a way of life, constitute obstacles to change (cf. Fergus, 1975:57).

3. MARGINALIZATION OF DOMESTIC AGRICULTURE: AN ANALYSIS

In the preceding section I presented evidence for the marginalization of domestic agriculture during the decade of tourism expansion in Montserrat. It appears that under the conditions of collapse of the island's staple economy, the relation between tourism and domestic agriculture was largely antagonistic. This antagonism contradicts what has been claimed about the relationship between tourism and domestic agriculture (see Chapter I) in the abstract, i.e., divorced from the specific context in which that relationship was formed in Montserrat in the beginning of the decade. We saw that the marginalization of domestic agriculture which accompanied the expansion of tourism in Montserrat manifested itself in declining contributions to the Gross Domestic Product, the rapid decrease in food self-sufficiency, and the predominance of women and older persons in agriculture. Changes in style of life and values concerning land, local products and agriculture as a way of life, both underlie and reflect the marginalization process and will act as obstacles to social and economic transformation.

Development of domestic agriculture during the 1960's would have required increased allocations of factors of production, capital, land and labor. In contrast, the introduction of a quasi-staple economy re-

sulted in allocation of factors of production in tourism derived forms of economic activity. As we saw in Chapter V, capital was invested in subdivision development, resort construction and the development of infrastructural facilities for tourism such as roads, airport facilities and utilities. Resulting activity in the construction industry, and in commerce, similarly required investment of capital. A dominant role was played by capital invested by the development companies. The dominance of metropolitan capital in the quasi-staple economy re-established and deepened the dependency status of the hinterland. Within the hinterland this dependency was reflected in a variety of ways. Local merchant capital was invested in tourism and related sectors; public investment was in infrastructural facilities. Investment in hotels, restaurants, supermarkets and a tourism infrastructure, however, did not fulfil the requisites for agricultural redevelopment. For example, the infrastructural requirements for domestic agriculture do not necessarly coincide with those of tourism. Cold storage facilities, other than those owned by a major food importer, remain primitive, agricultural feeder roads have not been constructed, land improvement schemes have been discontinued. Two new banks, Barclays Bank and the Chase Manhattan Bank have been established since the introduction of tourism. These, and the older Royal Bank, are completely oriented toward the new staple economy: loans are available for enterprises which relate to tourism and consumer lending is aggressively promoted in metropolitan fashion. In contrast, agricultural credit is difficult to obtain and is available only through the government.

Apart from the large tracts of agricultural land which have been permanently alienated by residential tourism, and associated residential

subdivision for Montserratians, access to land has been reduced by the fact that land is regarded more as a means of speculation than as a means of agricultural production (cf. Frucht, 1968). Large landowners, such as the former planters and the development companies, expected continued expansion of residential tourism during the 1960's. Consequently, in anticipation of further sales or subdivision, they were unwilling to make land available to household producers on a long-term basis.

Lack of access to capital and land fostered perpetuation of outmoded and "peasant-like" means of production. Underdevelopment of the means of production included tools and techniques, in terms of cultivation practices, manuring and the treatment of land which I discussed earlier, with reference to the post-War period. The low returns which resulted from the perpetuation of these practices reinforced association between deprivation, low prestige and domestic agriculture.

The fact that much arable land remains unused, as evidenced by the idle state of land in the land settlements suggests that labor is drawn into construction and other tourism-linked industries. The economic growth that resulted from the expansion of tourism during most of the last decade created full employment. Continued high levels of migration also contributed to this condition.

SUMMARY

In summary, metropolitan investment in tourism produced growth of Montserrat's new quasi-staple economy. The dependency relationship thus created was reflected within Montserrat by the subordination of the domestic economy by tourism. Given the traditionally central role of agriculture in Montserratian economic life, domestic agriculture was relegated to an increasingly marginal role. The marginalization of domestic agri-

culture was a direct consequence of the fact that dependence skewed competition for factors of production heavily in favor of tourism. Marginalization of domestic agriculture, then, was a process that resulted from the subordination of the hinterland economy and society to metropolitan capital investment; from the subordination of domestic agriculture to tourism. While the specific character of a quasi-staple economy is different from that of the traditional staple economy, the marginalization of domestic agriculture, born out of subordination to tourism, is not qualitatively different from what obtained in the past. The consequences of tourism growth in Montserrat during the 1960's mirrors expansion of sugar and cotton in earlier eras.

The present chapter has focused on the process of marginalization of domestic agriculture in Montserrat, as a consequence of metropolitan investment in tourism. The analysis, however, is only partial in the sense that marginalization of domestic agriculture was part of a broader process of subordination of the hinterland to metropolitan capital. In subsequent chapters, I shall outline changes in social structure and social life, including their political dimension. It is these changes along with those discussed in this chapter which form the obstacles to transformation of Montserratian economy and society.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL INEQUALITY AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

The focus of discussion in this chapter is on the various ways in which dependency, underdevelopment and marginalization became manifested in the social ranking order. I shall present evidence for changes in the class structure and in social stratification which were corollaries of re-allocation of factors of production. I shall also discuss the ambiguous role of the bourgeoisie in this process of re-allocation. The discussion will conclude with an analysis of race relations in the tourist society.

1. CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE POST-PLANTATION SOCIETY

At one level, plantation agriculture and tourism differ with respect to the type of staple which is exported. At another level, they represent different systems of extracting wealth. It is at this level, and particularly with respect to the relations that are created for this purpose, i.e., the relations of production, that we can arrive at a model of the class structure.

In Chapter III we saw that in the plantation economy wealth was produced by plantation workers in the course of labor on the estates. Part of the produce of their labor was withheld by those who owned or

controlled the factors of staple production. This specific system of expropriating wealth gave the society the characteristic class structure centered around the relationship between the planter and his workers. Toward the end of the plantation era, when merchants became increasingly important, and identified with the plantocracy, the dominant class constituted a planter-merchant group. We also saw that during the 1950's the planters lost their traditional prominence in Montserratian economic, social and political life. Consequently, the merchants emerged as the dominant segment of the propertied class. The rise to dominance of the merchant segment reflected the growth of a quasi-staple economy which was initially based on the export of labor.

> With the money he saved while working on the Panama Canal, Kingsley Kirwan opened a small shop in one of the Windward settlements during the early part of the sea-island cotton boom. Eventually, Kingsley was able to rent one of the small estates in the area and establish himself as a planter. Later he purchased the estate and added a ginnery which he used to gin his own cotton as well as that grown by household producers in the area. This also involved him in the marketing of cotton.
>
> Kingsley's two sons, Joseph and Lloyd, expanded their father's enterprises. During the late 1950's they had acquired over one thousand acres of cotton estate property, some of it in the best cotton producing areas of the island. Joseph had developed the store which his father had established in Plymouth in the 1940's into one of the most important commercial enterprises in Montserrat. It involved importing and exporting, as well as wholesale and retail business. An important and growing aspect of the business was building materials. Lloyd became well known as a planter, broker and agent, in addition to running the store that his father had opened in the beginning of the century.
>
> During the 1950's, Lloyd was the only black planter in the Windward Farmlands to attain the stature that was hitherto reserved for the white plantocracy. While the planter role, in general, was gradually being purged of traditional paternalism, Lloyd had emerged as a <u>paterfamilias</u> in relation to share croppers, workers, and

independent household producers in the area. It is said, however, that during the 1958 general election Lloyd used undue pressure to gain the support of his dependents in an unsuccessful attempt to win the Windward seat for the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party was organized by the Planter/Merchant class to meet the Labour Party threat to the old order.

Their commercial interests enabled the Kirwans to weather the economic decline which accompanied the collapse of the island's cotton industry and plantation system. As a matter of fact, in spite of the decline of the 1950's, Joseph's enterprises prospered, thanks to remittances spent on home construction and improvements. During the early part of the 1960's Joseph invested capital in resort tourism. His hotels and commercial enterprises enabled him to take advantage of the tourism boom and his operations grew rapidly during the expansion phase of residential tourism. Joseph's death left his son, Kingsley Jr., as one of the most important and influential members of the bourgeoisie of Montserrat.

Lloyd owns and operates a general store, in addition to a variety of insurance and automobile agencies. As he never married, he has no official heir. He is much sought after for advise and financial assistance. Consequently, he has many dependents and supporters; "most of the people here are indebted to him", I was told. Lloyd's role in Montserrat today is reminiscent of that of the Montserratian planter of an earlier era.

Joseph married a non-Montserratian of very light complexion and lived a style of life in accordance with his commercial success and high status. The location and type of home which he and his family lived in clearly expressed the wealth and prominence of the Montserratian segment of the Planter/Merchant class of the 1940's and 1950's. To an even greater extent than his father, Kingsley Jr. represents the Montserratian capitalist whose wealth and class interests are inextricably bound up with those of the metropolitan investors.

The relationships between Kingsley Jr. and his employees are quite different from those maintained by his father and uncle. They have largely been depersonalized to the extent that day-to-day business in the various enterprises is in the hands of managers. The business model applied by Kingsley in hotels and stores puts considerable emphasis on workers' appearance and industry, good working conditions and higher than average wages than is the case in other enterprises. Conversely, he relies less heavily on paternalistic ties

with his employees.

> In 1970 Kingsley Jr. was chairman of the Montserrat Chamber of Commerce, an organization that was dominated by the Old Merchants. Members of the Chamber were largely supporters of the Labour administration and were worried about the moves against residential tourism by the New Elite. The Chamber advised the government against granting a license to a successful new entrepreneur who wanted to open a large store, including a supermarket, on the outskirts of Plymouth. The Chamber also attempted to block the expansion plans of an East Indian from St. Kitts, who had established a popular grocery and liquor store the year before. Both moves by the Chamber were clearly designed to preserve the monopoly of the Old Merchants in the island's wholesale and retail trade (Fieldnotes).

The growth of tourism was primarily based on investment in subdivision development, and secondarily by investment in the hotel industry, and the construction, distribution and service industries. This relationship, between externally propelled residential tourism and derived industries is of great significance to changes in the class structure.

Investment in residential tourism was metropolitan, overwhelmingly Canadian and American. The form of capital invested in residential development was merchant capital, i.e., capital which is used to purchase commodities in order to sell them (Marx, 1967, Vol. III, Chapter XVI). In essence, the development companies were in the business of buying and selling land. It is important to note, in this context, that the development of tourism in Montserrat meant the subordination of economic life to metropolitan merchant capital, thus renewing the traditional dependency of Montserrat. In class terms, this meant the subordination of local capitalists to metropolitan capital defining them as a "comprador-bourgeoisie" whose class interests are closely identified with the extraction of wealth by metropolitan capital. The subordination of local capitalists-and of economic life-to metropolitan merchant capital represents the core of

underdevelopment in a quasi-staple economy.

In Chapter V we saw that the growth of tourism fostered tremendous expansion of the derived sectors of the economy. These sectors, particularly the construction industry, fulfilled the function of realizing the commerce of land and capital accumulation. We saw that it was largely local capital that was invested in the development of the derived sectors. Capital was invested in production to the extent that the expansion of derived sectors involved construction of roads, hotels, shops, and so forth. It underlay the concentration of labor in construction. It is clear, however, that capital was invested in productive activities only in so far as it was necessary for the business of tourism.

While at a general level it is valid to characterize the bourgeoisie of Montserrat as subordinate to metropolitan merchant capital, it is also important to be cognizant of the contradictory relationships and tensions within this class. To understand these tensions it is necessary to examine the means of upward mobility available in Montserrat in recent decades.

The rapid economic growth during the first half of the 1960's opened up various avenues for upward mobility which affected different segments of the population in different ways. My first concern will be with the effects of mobility on the bourgeoisie.

Earlier I pointed to the rise to prominence of the merchants during the 1950's. This position enabled them to take full initial advantage of the economic growth fostered by tourism development. Put differently, the Old Merchants who, prior to the collapse of plantation agriculture were firmly tied to the plantocracy, were preadapted to take advantage of metropolitan investment in tourism and, hence, to become

the core of the bourgeoisie of the 1960's.

Four broad means of upward mobility contributed to the addition of another segment to the bourgeoisie, under conditions of economic growth. These were government, migration, education and skills acquired during the initial construction boom that accompanied subdivision[1].

The take-over of government by the Labor Party after the constitutional changes of 1952 provided a number of party leaders of working class origin with an opportunity to enter business. The leader of the Labour Party is a good example:

> Gaining political office enabled Mr. Bramble to enter into partnership with Linton Mark (see Chapter V). While he was Chief Minister and leader of the Union, Mr. Bramble acquired a 40% interest in Mark's enterprise. In 1970 Mr. Bramble was a senior partner in one of the largest automobile dealerships on the island. His defeat and that of his party in the 1970 general election left Mr. Bramble as one of the most successful, and respected, business men in Montserrat (Fieldnotes).

Government became an important means of upward mobility in other ways, as well. First, as Lowenthal and Comitas (1962:207) point out,

> The rate of turn-over in the Government departments is fantastic; in 1959 the Post Office and the Treasury lost seven out of ten employees. Temporary promotions inadequately fill the empty places, junior clerks become inspectors, typists in one department are lent as supervisors to another, and the chief of any office may at any moment find half of his subordinates on secondment elsewhere.

This situation resulted from the high rate of migration at the time. The

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[1]The role of migration in upward mobility prior to the growth of tourism is discussed in detail by Philpott (1973:Chapter 3).

upward mobility it created was further stimulated by expansion of the public service, especially in the Public Works, Social Welfare and the Electricity departments. In 1970, 23.8% of the total workforce was made up of government employees (Roberts, 1974:Table 5).

In one way this was part of a process which began after Emancipation. The reduction of the white resident population in the 19th century and migration of the colored population in the beginning of the present century made upward mobility possible by depleting the ranks of the upper and middle strata. Increasingly, lower stratum Blacks filled the occupational roles as they became available. Improved educational facilities, migration and the receipt of remittances further contributed to this process (cf. Hall, 1971; Philpott, 1973).

The economic growth of the 1960's increased the rate of upward mobility. As more occupational roles, that required higher levels of training, became available, the role of education increased. Of those who became upwardly mobile in government or private business, some established their own enterprises. It is, for example, not uncommon for the wives of high public servants to become involved in business. A travel agency, a beauty salon and a clothing shop which were established during the period of my fieldwork are examples of this.

> In 1969, at the age of twenty-five, John Griffin, who had recently returned from his studies at the University of the West Indies in Mona, Trinidad, was appointed to a high position in the public service of Montserrat. He married twenty-two year old Jane, the second oldest daughter of William and Annie Hixon.
>
> Both John's and Jane's parents belonged to the relatively small pre-tourism middle stratum of Montserratians. They derived their status from links with the Planter/Merchant class. John's father, Frank Griffin, had a clerical position with the Montserrat Company; William Hixon was manager of one of the stores that belonged to the Kirwan

family. Both sets of parents were married and belonged to the established denominations.

The Griffins and the Hixons were able to give their children a better education than was available to most Montserratians. This meant, in the 1950's, that John and Jane went to one of the small private schools that were operated by individuals and which catered to the upper and middle strata. After primary school, John and Jane went to the Montserrat Secondary School. Upon completion of his "A-level" exams, John received a scholarship to attend the University of the West Indies in Trinidad, to study agriculture. Jane received secretarial training after she completed "O-levels".

At the time of my field work, John was acting director of agriculture in the absence of the director who had returned to university to obtain an advanced degree. Jane was employed as a secretary by one of the development companies. She was also partner in a beauty salon which had opened the previous year. The salon specialized in Afro hairstyles that had become very popular among women of the New Elite.

In 1971 Jane left her secretarial position to give birth to a second child. Subsequently, she set up a travel agency, thus filling a niche which had been inadequately served by the local office of LIAT (Leeward Islands Air Transport Ltd.). Like her mother, who in addition to managing a hotel owned by one of the development companies, owned and operated a boutique, Jane Griffin had established herself as a successful and independent business person.

The Griffins lived in a "great house" style stone house on one of the government-owned estates. Their lifestyle was a curious mixture of the old and the new. The new was expressed by a North American style consumerism, dominated by expensive stereo equipment, modern appliances and furniture. At the same time, their interaction with working class Montserratians, in particular the maid and laborers who John occasionally hired for odd jobs, reflected attributes of superordination and subordination that were a legacy of the plantation past. While the maid was addressed by her first name, John, Jane, and Jane's twelve-year old sister, who was a frequent visitor to the house, were addressed and referred to as master, mistress and miss, respectively.

> The Griffins were representative of the New Elite of young public servants, professionals and entrepreneurs. They were opposed to the Labour administration, against residential tourism, and they strongly identified with the Afro heritage that was propagated by West Indian Black Power activists in the larger islands and which was also rapidly becoming a dominant strain in popular culture. Like others of the New Elite, the Griffins were mildly anti-white. They generally avoided close relationships with Whites and strongly rejected membership in organizations which they identified as "white", such as the Yacht Club and the Golf Club. They criticized Jane's younger sister, Margaret, for having too many white friends, and for the fact that her boyfriend was white. Margaret had spent a number of years at school in Canada and had recently returned to teach at the Montserrat Secondary School. Paradoxically, Jane's relatives were of very light complexion and Jane's hair did not naturally lend itself to the virtually obligatory Afro hairstyle. Moreover, a degree of hostility to the Hixons was expressed when a person in Corkhill referred to them as "wanting to be like white people".
>
> The Griffins were typical of the New Elite also in that they were hard working, ambitious and committed to, what appeared to me as, a West Indian version of North American small-town free enterprise (Fieldnotes).

A number of returning migrants came back with sufficient means to set up business in shipping and contracting. During the 1960's some of these became prominent businessmen, challenging the position of the Old Merchants.

The rapid growth of the construction industry during the first half of the 1960's and the resulting shortage of construction labor, especially skilled labor, enabled a number of those who possessed skills, or semi-skills (the "carpenter" of an earlier era) to work on a contractual basis for the larger construction companies. By the end of the decade some had become established as independent contractors and subcontractors in residential and commercial construction.

Jack Bass, the oldest of four children, three boys and one girl, was born on St. George's Hill, in 1925. His mother, Catherine Bass, was a laborer on Weekes Estate and also grew provisions on land which was made available to her there. Some of the provisions, vegetables and root crops, were sold to a huckster and appeared in the Plymouth market.

In his early teens, Jack worked as a laborer. Due to the war time demand for cotton and the fact that prices were guaranteed, Jack experienced regular employment during that period. In 1948 he migrated to Curacao, as many Montserratians of his generation did during the post-war period. Jack not only saved considerable amounts of money during his time in the Dutch island but, more importantly, he also became a relatively skilled brick layer.

He returned to Montserrat in 1962, at the beginning of the construction boom. Emigration during the 1950's had left the island with a severe shortage of skilled and semi-skilled workers and the expansion of tourism produced a great demand for all types of construction labor, especially skilled and semi-skilled. As a matter of fact, construction labor was imported from other islands in the region, especially from Dominica.

Jack started working for one of the expatriate contractors and did well financially, due to increases in wages and regular overtime work. Expatriate contractors were primarily interested in subdivision and new home construction for residential tourists. One of the consequences of economic growth was the expansion of local demand for new homes. In addition, many Montserratians renovated or expanded their homes. The result was an increased demand for contracting and subcontracting work. Jack initially established himself as a subcontractor of masonry work in 1965, a very good niche to occupy as concrete block construction had become the dominant and most preferred method of building houses and commercial buildings.

Jack operated from a small office in his house in Corkhill and a construction yard behind his house. A secondhand truck and a cement mixer constituted his initial capital investment. His business expanded steadily and by the time of my field work he had become a full-scale contractor. His jobs were primarily for Montserratians in the new residential subdivisions which the government had established at Dagenham and Amersham. He was also involved in subcontracting and contracting work in the tourist enclaves.

> The secret of Jack's success as a contractor seemed to lie in the fact that he was able to operate with a low overhead, in comparison to the expatriate contractors. Secondly, his operation was small enough to allow him to be his own foreman on the job and manager in the office. A young woman from Corkhill, who had some typing skills, worked for him as a secretary on a part time basis. Bass' relations with his workers appeared to be excellent. He had a reputation in the village for "taking care of his men". He maintained close personal relations with his workers and paid them the going rates for construction labor. Jack told me that the productivity of his workers was high and that losses due to pilferage were very low.
>
> Jack had few close relatives in Montserrat and none in Corkhill. His mother died during the early 1950's and his brothers and sister had all left for Britain during the great emigration of the decade. Jack never married but he acknowledged parental responsibility for a number of children in Montserrat. In 1970 he was still living in the same relatively modest home in Corkhill. More representative of his status as successful entrepreneur were his new car, expensive clothes and social life.
>
> In 1971 Jack expanded his business to include building materials. This area of business in Montserrat had been monopolized by the Kirwans (see above). Evidently, competition was severe, especially during subsequent years of economic decline. In 1975 Bass gave up this part of his business and scaled down the enterprise to its previous level. It is not entirely clear as to what happened. According to one report, the expansion did not work out financially and Bass went bankrupt. According to a close relative, however, "Jack had made enough money and he did not think the extra demands made on him by the expansion were worth it" (Fieldnotes).

It appears that Montserratian contractors actually benefited from the slump in the construction industry of 1968-1969, when the larger, foreign owned, companies experienced financial difficulties. One reason for this, no doubt, was the fact that the local contractor combines the roles of owner, manager and supervisor. In contrast, the foreign companies employ expatriate managers. Workers employed by local contractors appear to be more productive than those employed by

Table 40

Commercial Establishments in Montserrat
1958 and 1971

1958		1971	
Name	Ownership	Name	Ownership
Montserrat Co. Ltd.	Foreign	LIAT	Foreign
LIAT	"	O. R. Kelsick	Local
O. R. Kelsick	Local	M. S. Osborne	"
M. S. Osborne	"	W. L. Wall	"
W. L. Wall	"	G & J Eid	"
G & J Eid	"	M. G. Pond	"
M. G. Pond	"	T. H. Kelsick	"
T. H. Bramble	"	B. W. Edwards	"
Farrell's Syndicate	"	Peters and Peters	"
T. H. Kelsick	"	A. J. Eid	"
B. W. Edwards	"	C. Mercer	"
Peters and Peters	"	R. E. D. Osborne	"
A. H. Allen	"	C. H. Meade	"
A. J. Eid	"	Bata Shoes	Foreign
R. E. D. Osborne	"	J. W. R. Perkins	Local
C. H. Meade	"	Caribbean Development Co.	Foreign
H. S. Osborne	"	Montserrat Estates Ltd.	"
A. W. Griffin	"	Montserrat Real Estate Ltd.	"
W. S. R. Howse	"	Lindy Eid	Local
P. Hollender	"	C. G. Mercer	"
Sendall and Wade	"	Montserrat Gases Ltd.	Foreign
J. H. A. Meade	"	Resource Design Ltd.	"
Bata Shoes	Foreign	D. C. Fenton	Local
Ramsay's Enterprises	"	Montserrat Motors Ltd.	Foreign/Local
		Traders Ltd.	Local
		United Motors Ltd.	Foreign
		C. E. E. Brown	Local
		Empire Shop	"

Total number of enterprises: 26
Percentage Foreign-owned: 15%
Percentage Locally-owned: 85%

Table 40 con't

1971

Name	Ownership
Bostleman International	Foreign
E. Galloway	Local
Bess Hiram	"
Rogers Hardware	"
People's Hardware	"
Gifts of Quality	Foreign
J. S. Meade	Local
Sugar Mill Enterprises	Foreign
Rams Emdee	"
Transglobe	"
J. H. Daniel	Local
O. A. Romeo	"
J. Tuitt	"
A. E. Martineau	"
Blyth & Blyth W. I.	Foreign
Andrew Holm	"
Bayrum Dist.	-
J. Eid	Local
North Pole Ltd.	Foreign
Ocean Selfservice	Local
Browne Enterprises	"
Cottage Crafts	-
House of Beauty	Local
D. C. Nanton	"
J. Jackman	"
C. A. Mulcaire	"
F. J. Osborne	"

Total number of enterprises: 55
Percentage Foreign-owned: 30%
Percentage Locally-owned: 70%

Note: The enterprises listed in this table do not include hotels and restaurants. All business establishments listed are located in and around Plymouth.

Source: West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook
Fieldnotes

non-Montserratians.[1] It was my impression that this situation was true of other enterprises as well. Labor relations in locally owned establishments tended to be less tension-ridden than in enterprises where Whites and Blacks interacted on a superordinate-subordinate basis. This is a point to which I will return in a later section of this chapter.

The third segment of the bourgeoisie of Montserrat is made up by expatriate entrepreneurs. These were a group of about thirty persons, in 1970, and they were overwhelmingly white and of North-American origin. On the whole, they invested capital in small enterprises, such as restaurants, specialty shops, and business services (see Table 40) which cater specifically to the expatriate community, resort tourists and the upper and middle strata of Montserratians. During the period of my fieldwork, expatriate entrepreneurs opened a new cinema and a hotel.

An interesting aspect of expatriate entrepreneurial activity in Montserrat is that many expatriates anticipated quick riches. The agricultural schemes of the early 1960's, drive-in restaurants and hotel businesses that went broke suggest widely held inflated expectations of the potential of tourism in underdeveloped countries. Indigenous entrepreneurs tend to be more risk-conscious, and therefore more cautious, than foreigners.

> John and Diane Smith came to Montserrat in 1965, in the middle of the construction boom which resulted from the rapid expansion of residential tourism.

---

[1] It has been suggested that in Montserrat the cost of labor constitutes 50% of the total cost of construction, versus 35% in underdeveloped countries, in general (Palvia, 1970).

John had been an officer in the United States Air Force. Diane was a secretary before she married John.

John and Diane were involved in a number of business ventures during their seven years in Montserrat. At first, John operated an appliance dealership. When the construction boom subsided after 1968 and competition from the Montserratian merchants became more critical, John and Diane started an enterprise which offered business services such as brokerage, but which also included sale of business forms and materials. In addition, John became manager of an expatriate-owned agricultural enterprise which in recent years had shifted from growing vegetables to a beef operation.

Running a cattle operation without any specific expertise made it necessary to rely on Montserratians for the husbandry aspect of the enterprise. Tension developed between Smith and his employees, as a result of the former's desire to foster North American style employer-employee relations and the expectation on the part of workers that Smith should exhibit the paternalism that was part and parcel of the planter-worker relationship in the old days. Thus, Smith was expected to assist workers financially with occasional loans. On one occasion Smith was asked to help out when one of his workers had unexpected funeral expenses. His initial reaction was negative. The tensions between Smith and his workers sometimes produced conflicts in the form of brief strikes and firings. At one time Smith fired one of his workers who lived in Corkhill. This man then let it be known that he intended to kill Smith. Smith, on the other hand, was trying to find out from me what people in the village were thinking of him and saying about him.

Over the years, Smith's position in Montserrat became increasingly difficult. The Chief Minister openly supported the workers against Smith. Smith gradually came to represent an anachronism, the stereotyped hard-nosed white attorney, thus becoming the focus of antipathy from various strata of Montserratians, including the New Elite.

John and Diane Smith were typical of the expatriates in Montserrat in that they had little to do with Montserratians outside the context of business and of labor. Their friends were other expatriates, residential tourists but particularly other expatriate entrepreneurs and aid personnel, on temporary assignment in Montserrat. On Sunday mornings Smith and the others could be see at the Yacht Club.

> The Smiths had three children. The oldest boy was enrolled in a boarding school in the United States. The two girls were still in school in Montserrat- the older one in the Montserrat Secondary School, and the younger girl attended a private primary school that was run mainly for expatriates' children. While we were in Montserrat, John and Diane were making arrangements to enroll the older daughter in a boarding school in the United States.
>
> The Smiths left the island after a conflict with the new, expatriate, owners of the cattle operation. After liquidating his assets in Montserrat, John briefly explored business opportunities in Costa Rica. Later he took a job as manager of a holiday ranch in Montana (Fieldnotes).

Apart from very limited manufacturing, such as the softdrink bottling plant, expatriate and local capital has overwhelmingly been invested in construction, commerce and services. Table 40 indicates the increase in the number of business establishments since 1958. When hotels and restaurants are taken into account as well, it is clear that most of the capital investment depended on tourism and its development for returns. The means of accumulation are commerce or the use of wage labor. The only form of direct production in which capital is invested is construction. Capital investment in services, such as hotels and restaurants, represents investment in indirect production (cf. Marx, 1956: 397-98). Like direct production capital accumulation is based on the use of wage labor. It was largely these different elements within the bourgeoisie and the different means of accumulation which underlie the contradictions and tensions within the capitalist class of Montserrat that led to a moratorium on further subdivision. I shall discuss the political manifestation of these tensions in Chapter VIII.

The working class of Montserrat is no longer made up of the plantation proletariat. It also has become increasingly stratified during the expansion of tourism. Whereas wage labor on the estates was sea-

sonal and had to be combined with other forms of obtaining subsistence (see Chapter IV), the expansion of tourism increased demands for labor during most of the decade. Tables 41 and 34 reflect the shift of labor from agriculture to tourism-derived sectors. While the two tables are not readily comparable, due to different categories used in the sources that were employed, the figures for 1965 in Table 41 represent a mid-point in the re-allocation of labor.

In most general terms, the working class consists of all those who sell their labor in order to gain a livelihood. While in formal terms this would include government employees who receive wages and salaries, in terms of class relations we are most interested in those who sell their labor to owners of capital invested in economic activities which make possible the presence of tourists.

In contrast to the past, the working class has become more heterogeneous and contains highly skilled construction workers who earned $90, or more, per week (Palvia, 1970) to unskilled laborers who received weekly wages that ranged between $25 and $30 (1969 rates plus 25% increase granted in 1970 (Montserrat, 1969; Palvia, 1970).

The growth of tourism has resulted in a greater degree of proletarianization to the extent that fewer Montserratians gain a livelihood from agriculture, and that during the 1960's an increasing number became dependent on regular wage labor. In class terms, however, this tendency toward greater proletarianization was tempered by the fact that workers were increasingly employed in distribution and services, including domestic service. This is an important dimension of the economic and social changes that accompanied the establishment of a quasi-staple economy. My data for Corkhill Village point to the importance of

Table 41

Estimated Distribution of Employment by Industry
Montserrat, 1960 and 1965

Industry	1960		1965		% Increase '65/60
Total	4115	% of Total	4580	% of Total	11.3
Primary Industry	1977	48.1	1544	33.7	-22.0
Farming and livestock production	1816		1460		
Sugar Estate	73		30		
Forestry and Mining	3		4		
Fishing	85		50		
Manufacturing and Repairing	337	8.2	415	9.1	23.2
Sugar Milling and Refining	8		6		
Other Food and Beverages	31		38		
Apparel, Textiles, Footwear	235		250		
Vehicles, Metal and Machinery	37		60		
Other Manufacturing	26		31		
Construction	452	10.3	806	15.6	78.3
Electricity, Water, Sanitary Services	27	0.7	62	1.4	129.6
Commerce	255	6.2	402	8.5	57.7
Retail Trade in Food	119		164		
Other Trade	127		197		
Banking, Insurance, Financial Institutions	9		19		
Real Estate	-		22		
Transportation	153	3.7	344	7.5	124.8
Water Transport	20		12		
Port Work, Storage, Warehousing	31		54		
Road and Air Transport	70		278		

Table 41 con't

Industry	1960		1965		% Increase '65/60
Communication	27	0.7	34	0.8	25.9
Postal	18		21		
Telephone and Telegraph	9		13		
Public Administration	184	4.5	204	4.5	10.9
Administration	145		158		
Public and Fire Departments	34		36		
Prison	5		10		
Community and Business Services	269	6.5	344	7.5	27.9
Education and Research	118		120		
Health	92		130		
Welfare	-		1		
Religion	20		22		
Professional, trade and labour Administration	2		4		
Libraries, Museums, Cemetaries, Public Gardens	5		6		
Customs, Ports, Marine Services	4		6		
Business Services, Law, Accounting Engineering	26		35		
Recreation (theatres, broadcasting)	2		20		
Personal Services	434	10.6	625	13.7	44.0
Domestic	373		449		
Restaurants and Bars	13		71		
Hotels and Rooming Houses	13		56		
Laundering, Cleaning and Dying	25		35		
Other (baker, beauty, photography etc.)	9		14		

Source: Adapted from: Institute for Social and Economic Research Development in the Eastern Caribbean, Series 4: Manpower Surveys, Montserrat (Draft), 1968.

this phenomenon in and around the tourist enclaves (Table 34).

> When we moved into our rented house in Corkhill a lady of about 60 years old approached us. She was called Miss Katy and she "came with our house" in the sense that she had cleaned the yard for previous inhabitants. Although we had resolved not to hire domestic workers, in order to refrain as much as possible from entering into superordinate-subordinate relationships with Montserratians, we felt obliged to honor commitments that had been made to Miss Katy before our arrival.
>
> Miss Katy had been a laborer all her life. Before the collapse of plantation agriculture she had worked on the cotton estates which surrounded Corkhill. She also used to break rocks for the public roads. In recent years she had been involved in a number of activities. In addition to cleaning our yard, she did similar work for a number of home owners in the tourist enclaves which were developed on the former estates. She was also occasionally employed by one of the Old White families. In addition, Miss Katy planted some cotton on a small plot along the Plymouth Road, across from the Secondary School. The land there was rented by the government and made available to individuals. The Department of Agriculture carried out most of the soil preparation and also sprayed the crop against pests. Miss Katy could be seen weeding the crop with her hoe, the only implement, other than a pitchfork, which she possessed. After picking the cotton, she would carry it in bags to the government ginnery in Plymouth. After the picking was completed she had to uproot the cotton stalks and burn them. The year I was in Montserrat little of the cotton planted in the field, where Miss Katy had her plot, was picked due to low prices.
>
> Besides working for other people and growing a little cotton, Miss Katy kept a few sheep and a pig around her house, just northeast of the Corkhill school.
>
> We would often meet Miss Katy while she was walking home along the Plymouth Road, on the way back from work in the gardens or in her cotton patch. We would offer her a lift to Corkhill and drop her off a short distance from where she lived. One day we picked her up and as she was carrying a large load of fodder, we insisted on taking her home. Despite her protests we drove her to her house. She was very upset and embarassed about the appearance of

> the small shack in which she lived, and the fact that I carried the bags for her.
>
> She lived there with her twenty-five year old son, Joseph. She did not have any other children in Montserrat. An older daughter in England sent her small amounts of money, a few times a year.
>
> Her son Joseph was a truck driver for one of the expatriate contractors. He was regularly employed and made good money. He supported his mother, as well as a number of children he had fathered.
>
> Like many older villagers, Miss Katy was extremely deferential toward Whites. In contrast, Joseph tended to largely ignore a white person or even display hostility. This was generally the case among young people in the village, especially when in the company of their peers.
>
> Not long before we left the island, Joseph became violently ill. He died within hours, before nightfall, and was buried the next day. His death was mysterious and in the evening the rumshops emptied very early and there was hardly anyone around after dark, not even under the light standards. I was told the following day by my neighbor that several persons had seen Joseph walking through the village that night (Fieldnotes).

Miss Katy and her son reflected differences between many older and younger people in the village with respect to patterns of gaining a livelihood. Like many former estate workers in the area, Miss Katy did not have permanent employment. Instead, she relied on a variety of sources, including casual employment, cultivation and some animal husbandry, to make a living. In contrast, young men like Joseph tended to be employed in construction or other, tourism derived, activities. Among older persons the loss of a wage-paying job did not mean economic inactivity. Among younger villagers, however, unemployment implied the absence of work to a much greater extent.

In sum, while regular labor for cash wages became increasingly important as a source of livelihood for the working population of Montserrat, the marginalization effect of tourism expressed itself in the concentration of labor in economic activities which depended on tourism. As the growth of tourism declined employment in indirect production became more important as a source of livelihood. Changes in the contributions to the Gross Domestic Product following the moratorium on residental development and the efflux of construction labor to other West Indian territories reflect this tendency.

In conclusion, changes in the make-up of both the bourgeoisie and the working class indicate that class relations in the quasi-staple economy became increasingly defined by the relationship between merchant capital and labor which was concentrated in commerce and service. Class interests become increasingly identified with the very investment patterns which foster indirect production, thus deepening dependence on external propellants.

2. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Stratification may be discussed in terms of different descriptive criteria: occupation, education, lifestyle, color and many others. Using occupation, Philpott (1973) arrived at the following ranking order in Montserrat, at the end of the plantation era.

Upper Class	resident owners or managers of larger estates; expatriate colonial officials; professionals; expatriate religious officials and the larger merchants.
Middle Class	most civil servants; bank employees; some of the employees of commercial enterprises, small hotel operators; smaller shop keepers.
Lower Class	wage laborers; subsistence producers; domestic servants.

The hierarchy of occupational roles which the three strata represent are reinforced by "similar standing in other ranked scales, such as income, education, colour, and style of living (Ibid:45). The upper class tends to be white or light-skinned, the middle class has both light-skinned and dark-skinned members and the lower class is overwhelmingly black[1]. Philpott's "classes" are essentially broad strata, i.e., descriptive categories which are defined according to a given set of criteria (Dahrendorf, 1959:76; cf. Stavenhagen, 1975).

Philpott's model of stratification in pre-tourism Montserrat is a useful starting-off point for a discussion of ranking in the island, a decade later.

The upward mobility which I discussed earlier with respect to class relations, has contributed to marked changes in the model presented by Philpott, above. According to Philpott, 90% of the population belonged to the lower class (stratum). Table 42 shows that the model no longer applies in terms of the correlation between occupation and income (or lifestyle, see below).

---

[1] The relationship between phenotypic color and status is more complicated than suggested here. For example, there were Blacks among the planter-merchants during the 1950's. The lower stratum, moreover, is very heterogeneous with respect to phenotype. With respect to "social color" Philpott's description is correct.

Table 42

Distribution of the Gross Domestic Product
According to Households

	Number of Households	Average Annual Income	G.D.P. of the Households
Affluent Group	300	$7,000	2,100,000
Middle Income Group	1,200	3,500	4,200,000
Low Income Group	2,500	1,230	3,090,000
i top group	600	2,000	1,200,000
ii central group	800	1,400	1,120,000
iii bottom group	1,100	700	770,000
Total:	4,000		9,390,000

Source: Palvia, 1970.

Table 42 gains added meaning when it realized that in 1970 skilled workers could earn an annual income of $5,200 in private companies and $3,640-$4,680 in government. The following are a number of occupations and corresponding annual earnings in 1970:

Table 43

Selected Occupations and Annual Earnings
1970

Occupation	Annual Income
Manager/Engineer	$ 7,250
Laboratory Assistant	2,400
Teacher - degree	2,376
Junior Clerk in a Bank	2,700
Senior Clerk	5,000
Laborer I	1,500
Laborer II	1,200
Laborer II	1,440
Electrician	3,900
Painter	2,880

Source: Household Survey, Corkhill Village; Pusinelli, 1969.

The above indicates the absence of a neat fit between occupation and income status. Such relatively low status occupations as painter and electrician are associated with income levels that are similar to, or exceed, traditionally highly valued occupations in the public service or in banks, such as clerk or teacher. My own observations in Corkhill and elsewhere suggest that the style of life of skilled workers is more representative of middle stratum occupations than of lower stratum occupations.

The lower stratum itself is very heterogeneous with regard to occupation, income and lifestyle. The range of incomes is indicated by Table 42 and reflects the range of wages paid to different occupations. There is an important difference between skilled and unskilled wage workers, reflecting the demand for skilled labor during the expansion phase of tourism. A significant difference exists also between those who derive a livelihood from regular wage labor and those who do not. The latter category of Montserratians are overwhelmingly dependent on household production, they are older people and residents of parts of the island that are removed from the tourist enclaves. They are a segment of the population whose numbers rise or fall with demands for labor in the tourism derived sectors of the economy.

Occupation and income, by themselves, are inadequate both as criteria for, or indicators of, rank in Montserrat at the present time. I suggested in Chapter III that stratification as a hierarchy of statuses, based on a valuation of status attributes, is ultimately derived from class relations. Moreover, as a valuation of status attributes, stratification represents a value system. Lastly, while relations of class are dynamic and tend toward change, the ideology of rank is fundamentally

conservative and tends to fix inequalities derived from class relations that gave rise to them in the first place[1].

We saw that the determinations of rank which applied in the plantation society were derived from the class relationship between plantocracy and plantation proletariat. It follows from the above that the ideology of rank of the plantation society continues to influence rank determination in the post-plantation society. Theoretically, changes in the class structure that accompanied the growth of tourism can have both modifying and conserving effects on social ranking. I suggest that the system of social stratification that existed in Montserrat at the end of the 1960's represents a valuation of statuses which was defined by (A) the antecedent ranking order, (B) the subordinate position of the bourgeoisie of Montserrat vis a vis metropolitan capital and (C) changes in the ways and means in which wealth is extracted in Montserrat. The latter accounts for the greater segmentation of both the bourgeoisie and the working class that I discussed earlier. The following represents a model of social stratification in Montserrat, based on the three main determinants of rank:

---

[1]Wilson uses stratification in a similar sense: "The principle of stratification that subsumes all others in the Caribbean is, I suggest, the principle of respectability."---"Respectability has its roots in the external colonizing (or quasi-colonizing) society, though in any given instance its reality depends on the integral role of the colonizing society in the social system of the colony." (1973:8-9). Also, "the relationship between economic base and superstructure is one of both conflict and co-operation. Stressing conflict tends to explain change but not persistence, while stressing co-operation tends to explain persistence but not change" (Burawoy, 1974:529).

Upper Stratum — Old Merchants; new Montserratian entrepreneurs; expatriate entrepreneurs; residential tourists; professionals (lawyers, physicians, etc.) high public servants such as permanent secretaries and department heads; managers of large stores and businesses such as banks; Old Whites.

Middle Stratum — Salaried public servants, other than permanent secretaries and department heads; clerks, shop keepers who do not habitually employ workers; skilled workers.

Lower Stratum

upper ....unskilled, but regularly employed, wage workers; rum-shop owners; hucksters.

lower ....irregularly employed wage workers; agricultural producers (household producers).

With respect to color, the Upper Stratum is phenotypically black, colored and white; the Middle Stratum and the Lower Stratum are phenotypically colored and black. The old Whites make up a small group of former planter families. Apart from a large landowner who sold large parcels of estate land to developers, a physician and an entrepreneur who formerly managed the Wade Plantations estates, the Old Whites live on the margins of Montserratian social life.

> The name Wilkin has been part of Montserrat's plantation legacy for over a hundred years. In the early 1950's the family owned approximately 1100 acres of estate property in the Windward, Central and Leeward districts. These estates were owned by two branches of the family, the heirs of Seymour Wilkin and the heirs of Allen Wilkin. Most of the members of the two branches were scattered around the globe, and a large number of individuals held shares in the estates.
>
> In 1958 the estates that belonged to the heirs of Seymour Wilkin were managed by Robert Wilkin, grandson of Seymour. He also held a share in one of the cotton estates on the Leeward coast. The estates of the heirs of Allen Wilkin were managed by one of his grandsons, Paul, and included a cotton estate on the Windward side, as well as a number of estates in the Central region, east of Plymouth, where vegetables and tomatoes were grown. Paul Wilkin also grew some cane for the distillery at Farrel's. As Seymour and Allen were brothers, Robert and Paul Wilkin were second cousins.

It appears that the decline of the cotton industry, during the 1950's, affected the operation managed by Robert to a greater extent that Paul's. It was necessary for Robert to take a position as a public servant in the Department of Agriculture. Paul, on the other hand, although the cotton estates were increasingly unprofitable, continued to derive an income from the sugar and vegetable operations. This was supplemented by a share of the rent which the government paid for the Windward estate it had leased following the disturbances of 1958. The government had leased the estate in order to make land available to landless laborers in the area.

Paul Wilkin died accidentally in 1960 at the age of 38. His wife, Eva, and their two young daughters moved to Antigua where her family owned a number of estates.

Lands that belonged to the heirs of Seymour and Allen Wilkin were gradually sold off between 1959 and 1965. The government purchased the estates that had been managed by Allen Wilkin. Those owned by the heirs of Seymour Wilkin were sold to one of the development companies. Both Robert and Eva Wilkin received sums of money that were proportional to the shares each had in the estates.

In 1970, Robert Wilkin, his Canadian-born wife Lilian and their three teen-age children were living in Plymouth in a large but run-down house. Lilian worked occasionally as a clerk for Radio Antilles. Seemingly, Robert was not employed during the period I was on the island. The two daughters were enrolled in the Montserrat Secondary School. The 19-year old son had returned from Canada where he had been attending school. During my stay in Montserrat he mixed with a group of Montserratian and expatriate youths who did odd jobs on yachts and excursions.

Eva Wilkin returned to Montserrat in 1965 and lived with her 90-year old father and two teenage daughters in the overseer's cottage on a former cotton estate just outside Plymouth, which had been purchased by the government and subdivided for residential and commercial development. She was clearly in better financial circumstances than Robert Wilkin and his family and was able to afford a small car. Eva's father received a pension from the British government for his years in the colonial service in Africa. Eva lived off the revenue which her capital produced and supplemented this with wages she received for work in the Public Library. I was told that she was about to be replaced at the library by a qualified Montserratian.

> Both families lived on the margins of Montserratian social life and were oriented to the past. A common theme in conversations with Robert and Eva was the contributions they, and their relatives, had made to Montserrat in the past and the ingratitude and hostility directed toward them today. They were particularly bitter about the "bad deal" they had received from the government. In a real sense, these remaining heirs of Seymour and Allen Wilkin were reduced to foreigners in their home land.
>
> They faced increasing obstacles to gaining a livelihood as their financial resources were depleted and prospects for making a living were reduced by qualified Montserratians (Fieldnotes).

The most important determinants of high rank are ownership of factors of production, high educational skills (professional skills) and color. The growth of an economy which imports in order to export and the corresponding concentration of factors of production in commerce underlie the prominence of the entrepreneur within the upper stratum. Professional and high public servants also reflect the growth of tourism: much of the legal business concerns transactions in real estate; the role of government in developing a tourism infrastructure has created highly valued occupational statuses in the Public Works Department and in the Utilities. Moreover, professionals and high government officials blend in with the entrepreneurial segment in the sense that they may be engaged in business themselves.

The role of color is ambiguous. On the one hand, the various means of upward mobility which were discussed earlier have contributed to a reduction of color as a determinant of status. On the other hand, traditional valuation of color, the dependent role of the local bourgeoisie, as well as the association between whiteness and affluence which is fostered by tourists and white entrepreneurs, have an opposite effect. The association between whiteness and high status which is de-

rived from wealth is compounded by the fact that Whites employ Montserratians, either in their businesses as employees or in their homes as domestic laborers. Finally, resort tourists are overwhelmingly white; the relationships they enter into with Montserratians have a largely servile character.

The fall of the planter class and the increase in the size of the Montserratian segment of the bourgeoisie have had a modifying effect on the role of color in status determination. On the other hand, traditional values of respectability and the various dependency relations that are part of the quasi-staple economy, combine to give an opposite effect. They tend to perpetuate the association between whiteness and high status. In Chapter VIII I shall discuss the political consequences of these opposing tendencies.

3. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN CORKHILL VILLAGE

Corkhill lies just a few miles north of Plymouth and is central with respect to the tourism enclaves. Prior to the collapse of plantation agriculture, the inhabitants of this settlement overwhelmingly depended on the surrounding cotton and lime estates for their livelihood. Much of the village is located on former Montserrat Company lands which were sold to employees.

Much has changed since the development of residential tourism, the construction of two hotels and the location of construction firms within a short distance from the village. In addition, government offices, a bottling plant, business establishments, repairshops in and around Plymouth, as well as a repairshop within the village, provide jobs for the inhabitants. Table 34 indicated the extent to which the

economic base of the settlement has changed since the days of cotton. Only 11% of employed household heads were engaged in agriculture, 20% in industry, 20% in construction and 41% in commerce and services (especially domestic service). Five percent of the household heads were employed in transport-communication, the remaining 5% were engaged in other, difficult to classify activities. Using occupation, I arrived at the following social strata in the settlement area:

Upper Stratum	3 Household Heads	2% of Total
Middle Stratum	19 " "	13% "
Lower Stratum		
Upper	41 " "	27% "
Lower	28 " "	19% "
Other - No information or outside the labor force	50 " "	33% "
Total Number of Households	151	100% "

Note: Out of the 151 household heads approached, 101 agreed to respond to the complete census questionnaire.

On the basis of 101 responses it was not possible to arrive at a convincing association between occupation and lifestyle, as indicated by subjective criteria (see Table 44). Receipt of remittances and/or the presence of additional wage earners in the household appear to play an important role in this respect. For example, if we consider ownership of a television set or a car, and the presence in the house of modern conveniences as indicators of an affluent lifestyle we find all three strata represented. If we exclude from this group of household heads all those who received remittances, only upper and middle stratum occupational statuses remain: 1 businessman, 1 seamstress, 1 clerk,

Table 44

Summary of Household Census
Corkhill, 1971

Marital Status of the Household Head	Married	55%
	Single	46
Home ownership by the Household Head	Owned	73
	Rented	27
	Additional Homes	7
Land ownership by Household Head	More than 1 task	21
	Less than 1 task	52
Agricultural Production	Land under cultivation	1
	Provisions ground	30
	Livestock	27
Conveniences in the Home	Indoor water	29
	Indoor toilet	18
Luxury Possessions	Radio	84
	Television	7
	Automobile	9
Additional Sources of Income	Receipt of Remittances	29
	Additional Wage Earners	25

Note: 101 out of 151 household heads responded to the questionnaire.

1 minister, and 3 skilled wage workers. The majority of the households for which no complete data could be obtained were associated with upper and middle stratum occupations. They would be expected to conform to the indicators of an affluent lifestyle to a much greater extent.

I found that more meaningful indicators of the relationship between occupational status and lifestyle are type and location of the home. The homes of the upper and middle strata are virtually all located along the Plymouth Road, the Old Road and along the Corkhill Road (see Figure 5). Houses along the Plymouth Road include those that belong to the Magistrate of Montserrat, a white jeweler whose store is located in Plymouth and a new house built by a government engineer. The

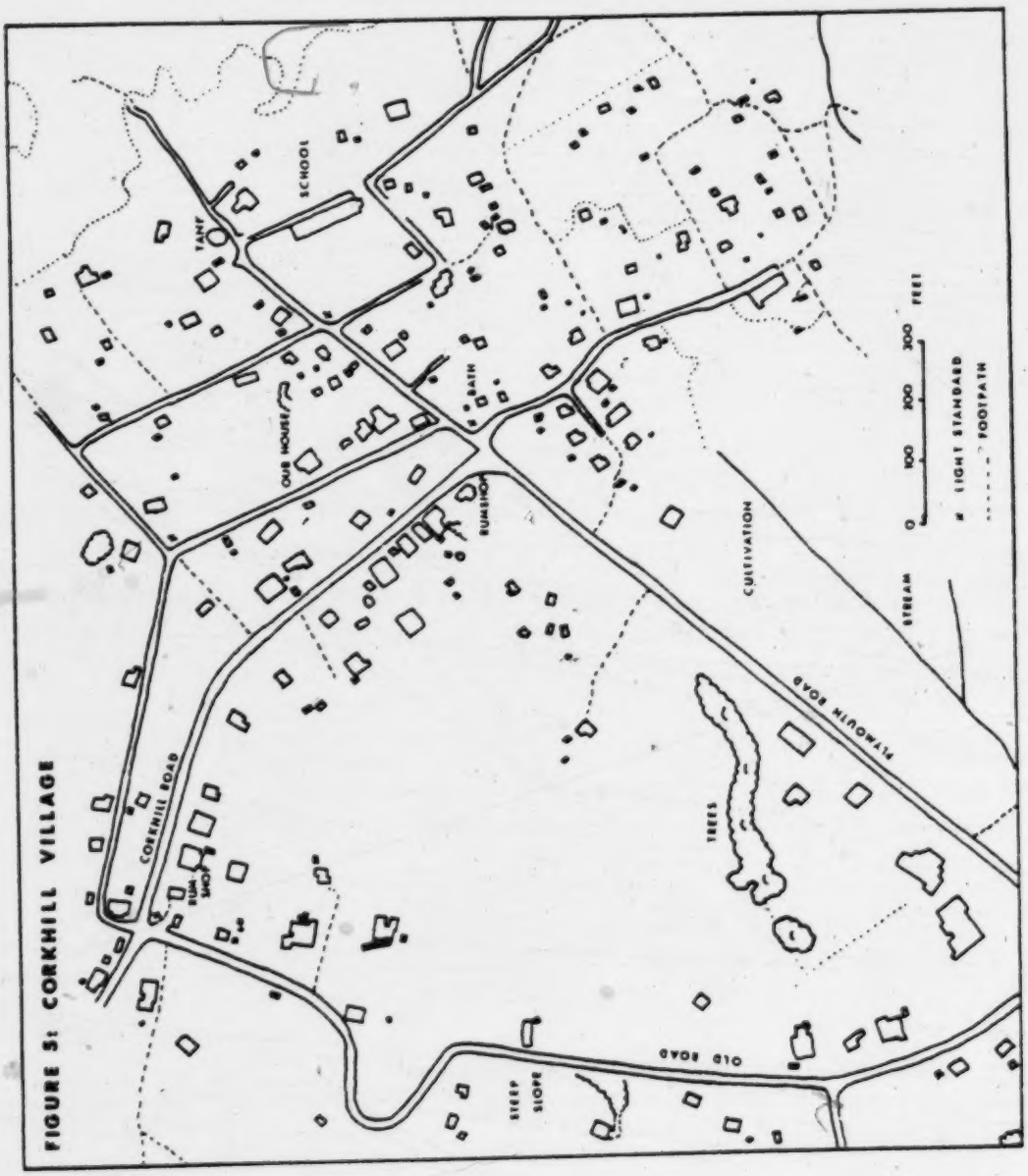

FIGURE 5: CORKHILL VILLAGE

Chief Pathologist (on loan from the British Government) was living in a large government-owned house that is located along this road. All these houses, except the Magistrate's home, are modern concrete bungalow-type homes with large and fenced-in gardens. Along the Old Road, too, the houses tend to be new and constructed from concrete blocks. The same applies to those houses along the Corkhill Road that are inhabited by shopkeepers, public servants, and skilled workers. A few older wooden houses are also located along this road, as are grocery shops, a car repair shop and two rum shops. The rest of the houses in the settlement are found along narrow roads and paths north, northeast and southeast of the point where the Plymouth Road meets Corkhill Road. The vast majority of the houses in this area are made of wood, are old and contain one or two rooms; most lack indoor water and toilets. With the exception of two houses that belong to civil servants, the homes are inhabited by lower stratum households. This part of the village also contains the school, a cricket field, a public bath house and a health clinic.

Interpersonal relations between villagers of similar age and sex status follow stratum distinctions, with certain exceptions. Upper stratum villagers have little to do with others, except in the context of employer-employee relations (domestics, gardeners or other employees). They do not frequent rumshops, or purchase provisions in the grocery shops[1], or attend the Pentecostal Church. Their children do not attend

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[1] Upper stratum villagers have automobiles and shop in Plymouth, in the supermarkets. They would also not be expected to use the credit facilities that are available in local grocery shops.

the local government school but are enrolled in various private schools. Class and race criteria largely determine the role of upper stratum persons in village life and define their relations with other villagers.

Table 45

Motor Vehicles Licensed
1957, 1964, 1967, 1968, 1969

Type of Vehicle	1957	1964	1967	1968	1969
Private cars	127	285	468	512	588
Hire cars	-	-	113	106	97
Buses	-	-	33	32	34
Motorcycles	10	18	5	7	11
Tractors	10	23	19	18	24
Trucks	-39	-82	46	55	55
Pickups			27	27	31
Mokes, jeeps Land-rovers					
Other	-	-	-	-	3
Total:	186	408	768	816	904

Sources: West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook, 1958, 1965, Government of Montserrat, 1970

Middle stratum members appear to derive standards of respectability from the upper stratum and behave in similar ways in relation to persons of lower status. This should, however, not be taken too categorically in the sense that the middle stratum blends in with the lower stratum. Some send their children to private school, others to the government school. Class and race criteria do play a role in defining interpersonal relations that middle stratum members enter into with villagers of lower status. The exception is the special case of domestic labor.

Terms of address reflect status differences. A person of lower status will use the term Master (Mister) and Mistress (Madam), or an occupational title, such as Lawyer or Teacher, to address someone of

higher status. Persons of higher status will often use pet names when addressing - or referring to - someone of lower status. One notable exception to this is the use of "brother" and "sister" among members of the Pentecostal Church, regardless of status differences, including age. Most of the members of the Pentecostal Church have lower stratum occupations, are unemployed or outside the labor force.

Lower stratum villagers address each other by their petnames and do not display the signs of deference used in relations with persons of higher status. As is common throughout Montserrat these villagers spend considerable time outside their houses during the late afternoon and early evening. At this time, groups of younger and older people gather to talk or play checkers in the rumshops or simply in the open, usually in specific meeting places, such as below the public bath house at the corner of the Plymouth Road and Corkhill Road, where electric street lights and passing traffic provide a social center. Much visiting takes place at this time of day. The obvious reason for the fact that meeting and visiting take place in the open is that most of the houses are small, hot and humid, especially in the evening when the breeze dies down and the humidity rises. In contrast, upper and middle stratum homes are well ventilated and more comfortable for in-home activities. Moreover, attitudes of propriety play an important role in limiting the participation of persons with higher status in village life. Higher status respectability is expressed in disdain for those who gather outside. Such values transcend status differences in the case of villagers who belong to the Pentecostal Church. The Church's emphasis on personal redemption translates itself into con-considerable preoccupation with respectability.

The homes of the white residents of the village are located well away from the lower stratum section. The two families have little to do with other people in the village, except for service relationships. Conversely, villagers generally ignore them, display hostility or show the traditional deference to Whites. This is particularly common among older people. The lives of the Whites center around occupational activities and the "social life" of the expatriate community.

4. RACE RELATIONS

Race relations in the plantation society derived their definition from the colonial relationship and relations of class and production. In principle, the plantation society displayed a coincidence of class and race relations, in the sense that Whites owned or controlled the factors of production; Blacks either lacked such ownership altogether (during slavery) or were subjected to coercive means available to planters, after Emancipation.

The coincidence of class and race in the plantation society provided the material basis for status differences based on race criteria. The traditional superiority of whiteness over blackness represented the ideological complement of class relations. The fixation effect of stratification contributed to the perpetuation of the denigration of blackness, even though avenues for upward mobility for Blacks opened up after Emancipation. Although during the last two decades Blacks entered the Plantocracy, the Planters and Merchants club was still referred to as the "White Man's Club" (Philpott, 1973:46). The fact that Blacks and Coloreds had become members of this club did not alter its popular

name, nor the association between whiteness and high status. Moreover, class antagonism was invariably expressed in racial terms. Rhoda Metraux's attitudenal study of "Danio Village" (a pseudonym for a Montserratian village) stresses the strained character of the relationship between planters and their workers. She mentions the "angry contention (of the villagers) that 'they' (the Government, estate owners and townspeople) preferred fore-going improvement to letting 'Black People' achieve anything;..." (1957:206).

It is, perhaps, in this way that the traditional controversy between the stratification and pluralist models can be resolved. In the sense that both refer to status hierarchies, or an order of ranking in plantation societies, both refer to an ideology of rank which was a dimension of class relations. The occupational status hierarchy of the stratification model (cf. Braithwaite, 1960) and the hierarchy of racial statuses that is one aspect of the pluralist model (cf. Smith, M.G. 1965) can be seen as two dimensions of an ideology of inequality that is found in the plantation society. This ideology effectively served to preserve and perpetuate existing property relations. Integration and opposition at the level of values similarly reflect the integration of occupations in the process of staple production within the context of dependence (cf. Beckford, 1972:79-83), as well as the oppositions inherent in class relations.

The introduction of tourism occurred within a context of race relations that were defined by colonial dependency and class relations of the plantation society. They formed the historically determined preconditions of tourism development.

In my analysis of class relations I pointed out that the growth

of tourism renewed and deepened the dependence relation between the local bourgeoisie and metropolitan investors. Tourism also perpetuated the servile character of White-Black relations within Montserrat. Residential tourism's dominance in the island's economy and the presence of expatriate entrepreneurs, moreover, added an enduring quality to this servility. The relationships between Whites, as employers, and Blacks, as employees, tend to be ongoing. While tourism development redefined class relations, by perpetuating and renewing various dependency relations, it also perpetuated the association between superordination and whiteness.

Changes in the class structure and the entry of various categories of Whites necessitates a discussion of race relations as they involve residential tourists, white entrepreneurs and resort tourists.

The two outstanding features of the residential tourists' presence in Montserrat are duration and property ownership. These add an important dimension to the relationships which these tourists enter into with Montserratians. Residential tourists share with resort tourists an emphasis on leisure and pleasure seeking, metropolitan origin, racial characteristics and a metropolitan lifestyle. It is probably better to speak of the lifestyle of metropolitans in the tourist host country in the sense that it represents a special form of metropolitan culture. Once again it is possible to identify continuities with the past. The plantocracy, too, had a lifestyle which expressed grandeur and emphasized superiority. The "Great House" lifestyle of the plantation era (Beckford, 1972) is redefined under tourism as an "enclave" lifestyle[1].

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[1] The association of whiteness with superiority was expressed by our landlady in Montserrat. She said that while in England she found it difficult to accept the idea of a white refuse collector.

The permanence of the residential tourist's presence in the host country necessitates entry into relationships with members of the host population which emphasize and re-emphasize the inequalities inherent in such relationships. They also emphasize and re-emphasize inherent antagonisms. Inequality is expressed at two levels. First, at the collective level it is expressed by the geographical separation between tourist subdivisions and local settlements, by the affluence of the former and the poverty of the latter. Secondly, racial differences between the two both reflect and pronounce the inequalities, not the least in the daily treck of domestics to and from the enclaves.

Although the upper stratum of Montserratians have a lifestyle which is as affluent as that of the residential tourists, the concentration of a white, foreign, affluent and leisured segment of the population in settlements that are scenic, spacious, well serviced and ventilated by breezes, serves as a daily reminder to both groups that a gulf of property and racial distinctions exists between them.

At the individual level, the collective distinctions are reflected and continuously reinforced by the fact of service to residential tourists by Montserratians. The operation and maintenance of the tourist's residence requires the hiring of domestic workers (domestic servants, gardeners and helpers). While this reflects the leisure orientation of the residential tourist's lifestyle, it forms the core of the relationship between the tourists and members of the host country's population. It defines that relationship as essentially one of superordination-subordination. It also introduces a contradiction in the residential tourist's existence in the host country. The purpose of his presence is defined by pleasure and recreation. The realization

of pleasure and recreation necessitates entering into relationships that, because of their inherent inequalities, foster tension and conflict. While tension and conflict in the relationship between planter and worker were compensated by monetary reward and the promise of an eventual and prosperous return to the metropolis (cf. Van Lier, 1949), for the residential tourist there is no such compensation. I shall come back to this question later when I discuss some of the reasons for the decline of residential tourism toward the end of the decade.

It is in the context of servile and antagonistic relations, as pleasure-realizing means, that cultural differences in the broadest sense of a way of life, customary ways of doing things, habits and associated values, become factors in the generation of irritations and hostility between residential tourists and Montserratians. Of course, specific relationships between individuals may vary a great deal, in terms of the degree of tension and hostility, satisfaction or lack of it.

Time and again, I was reminded of the powerful role of values in this respect: the ideological concomitants of centuries of inequality in White-Black relations not only underlie negative expectations, but they also translate and express what amount to relatively minor frustrations and irritations with respect to cultural difference into attributes of racial stereotypes.

Conversations with residential tourists invariably moved to discussions about the "character" of "the Montserratians". The majority of such "assessments" concerned the services rendered by domestic workers and employees of business establishments or government offices. When such service was deemed unsatisfactory, and day to day experiences of

residential tourists tend to be of this nature, explanations involve ultimate reduction to imputed racial attributes.

It is important to realize that the residential tourists came to Montserrat in expectation of a life of leisure, free from tensions, in a tropical paradise promised by the developers:

> There is always the chance that Montserrat may disappoint you...Misanthropically, you may be soured by people who wave to you in warm greeting, the depth of their friendliness instantly evident ... (Montserrat Estates Ltd., 1970).

While Montserratians are friendly and wave in warm greeting, it is less likely to be toward Whites, except perhaps in those parts of the island that are some distance away from the tourist enclaves. In contrast, tourists complain about hostility they experience from Montserratians and about being left to wait or being ignored, when prompt attention was expected. The tourist withdraws into the enclave where time is spent with other non-Montserratians. Residential tourists habitually refer to their part of the island as the "ghetto". While this may indicate a lack of sensitivity, it also expresses the feeling and condition of separateness from the local population and community with one's own kind.

Residential tourists, along with other Whites, took little part in Montserratian recreational activities. Instead, their lives revolve around the cocktail circuit of the enclave, the hotels and the white-owned restaurants and shops where one is likely to meet resort tourists and other metropolitan visitors. The Yacht Club and the golf course are additional focal points of expatriate life in Montserrat. A Property Owners Association seeks to advance the interests of the enclave community. Although these clubs have Montserratian members, they were

founded by and for Whites. While they are not officially segregated, the style of life they imply and the affluence they demand effectively exclude the vast majority of Montserratians. Hotels, bars and clubs, however, employ local labor and represent additional contexts of social interaction that are defined by servility and characterized by tension. A good example is the golf course: the contrast between the white golfers and the black youths who carry their equipment bears a meaning which goes beyond the immediate occasion.

The tension in White-Black relations does not only manifest itself in irritable and hostile behaviour, or derogatory statements by both Blacks and Whites. Occasionally it flares into open conflict:

> On Sunday, January 17, 1971, races were to be held between the Yacht Clubs of Antigua and Montserrat. On the evening before the races, a dinner and dance was held at the Montserrat Yacht Club. The function was open to non-members and tickets were sold for $15 per person. Music for the dance was provided by one of the local bands. Against local custom, however, the members of the band were not allowed to have drinks while they were performing.
>
> Around midnight a Montserratian called Apache found a set of car keys just outside the clubhouse. As he went up the stairs that lead up to the dance floor, to find out whose keys they were, he was met by a Canadian residential tourist, called Bob, who had been drinking heavily. Bob told Apache to get out and started to push him down the steps. During the subsequent shoving Bob kicked Apache down to the ground. In return, Apache told Bob that he would have three days to get off the island, or his life would be in danger. Later, the Commodore of the Yacht Club, the island's Administrator (Governor), phoned Bob and ordered him to apologize to Apache. According to one informant, Bob got on his knees and begged Apache for forgiveness, thereby "making a fool of himself".
>
> The fight between Apache and Bob was not the only incident that evening. Apparently, the members of the band had been promised something to eat by the wife of the Commodore. When they went downstairs to the kitchen, during the intermission, they were told that they had no business there (Fieldnotes).

While in some contexts the Yacht Club incident would be considered a minor, almost routine matter, in the context of Montserrat it was talked about for a long time. It should not be forgotten that Montserrat is a very small society, the equivalent of a small provincial town in Canada.

This, and other less extreme examples of tensions and conflicts in Montserratian race relations indicate the following. Residential tourists and other metropolitan Whites come to Montserrat with preconceived notions of race-related behavioral characteristics that have long been elements of European and North American racist ideology. The history of colonialism and of the plantation society in Montserrat, have produced mirror images of racist ideology in the value system of the oppressed. What may be termed a value "pathology" is suffered by both groups. The dependency relationships and inequalities that the growth of tourism in Montserrat has fostered, activate this pathology. This system of values reflects, rationalizes and, simultaneously, reinforces its structural basis.

Bob's attitude to Apache and his subsequent actions make "sense" only in the light of pathological values regarding the "Black Man" and the frustrations and irritations which are part and parcel of the residential tourist's life in the promised Shangri La. In a similar way, to not allow members of the band drinks during their performance is a reflection of the way in which Whites project onto Blacks a nature in which customs regarding the use of alcohol become an explanation for poverty and other aspects of a way of life that run against the grain of metropolitan respectability. The contradictions of metropolitan respectability applied in Montserrat come to light in the prominence of alcohol in expatriate life and the incidence of alcohol-related afflictions

among Whites[1].

The dependence and inequality which residential tourism perpetuates and revitalizes, underlie the antagonisms and conflicts that are visible in the relations between white residential tourists and black Montserratians. Antagonism and conflict are a fertile basis for the flaring of initially abstract racialist notions into an open and raw rejection and condemnation of those whose reason for existence in their own country is defined in terms of rendering service. Conversely, the servant may seek the traditional refuge into submission and deference. He may also reject, refuse or revolt in whatever small ways, setting into motion a dynamic of considerable, but as yet unforeseeable, consequences. The spread of Rastafarianism to Montserrat, in recent years, appears to be part of this dynamic (personal communication).

Expatriate entrepreneurs constitute the other major segment of the white population of Montserrat. They are mostly from England, Canada and the United Kingdom and, as was pointed out earlier, they established enterprises which cater primarily to residential and resort tourists.

Invariably, expatriate entrepreneurs employ Montserratian labor, not only in their enterprises but also in their homes. The relationship between the expatriate entrepreneur with the Montserratian population, therefore, shares many qualities with that of the residential tourist. In each case the outstanding feature is the subordinate position of the Montserratian vis a vis his white employer plus the fact that the relationship tends to have enduring qualities. An important difference obtains with respect to the purpose of residence in Montserrat. The ex-

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[1] I became familiar with several cases of alcohol-induced cirrhosis of the liver, including one death, among the expatriates.

patriate entrepreneur came to Montserrat to make money, i.e., he employs Montserratian workers in order to realize returns on his capital. Thus, he is part of the bourgeoisie of Montserrat and his position in Montserratian social life is defined by that class position.

Class relations, then, have a determining role in race relations between expatriate entrepreneurs and Montserratian workers. The conflicts in relations of production that obtain were expressed in racial terms. Expatriates whom I interviewed spoke in terms of laziness, unreliability and untrustworthiness on the part of their employees and indirectly or directly identified these as characteristics of Montserratian or African labor. The case of H.S. is a case in point:

> H.S. is a retired Canadian army officer who came to Montserrat in 1969. He and his wife took over management of a ten-room hotel in Plymouth. The cocktail lounge of the hotel was frequented by Whites and upper and middle stratum Montserratians. H.S. told me that a sixty percent occupancy was required to break even in the hotel operation. The rate for the period from February, 1970 to the following November averaged out to sixty percent (he did not give me the occupancy rates for the high season months, November, December and January). He said that fewer tourists had come to Montserrat in 1970 and the number of people who visited the cocktail lounge, as well as total bar sales had declined.
>
> With reference to the cost of operating the hotel, H.S. maintained that the cost of wages as a proportion of total cost was about the same as in Canada. This was in spite of the fact that his wage scale varied from EC$17 to $50 per week, well below wages paid for similar types of work in Canada. H.S. said that his biggest problem in operating the hotel was the staff of nine females and one male. He was very frank in admitting that there had been considerable friction between he and his wife and the employees. He mentioned the high turnover of staff and blamed this on the fact that you "can not transform West Indians into North Americans overnight". He also felt that he was too demanding, perhaps as a result of his former career. His wife added that responsibility and initiative were lacking in the West Indian.

> In October, 1970, the friction between H.S. and his workers led to a brief strike in the hotel. The immediate cause for the incident was the firing of one of the women for being late on a rainy day. The leader of the strike was the barman who was also supervisor in the absense of the manager. The conflict was quickly resolved after a phone call from the Chief Minister. The position of H.S. and his wife, however, had become untenable by this time. This was largely the result of reactions on the part of the broader community, especially those who had frequented his lounge. During the course of my stay in Montserrat, it became apparent that H.S. had lost many of his regular customers and his lounge was regarded increasingly as a white man's place. They gave up management of the hotel about a year later and moved to the Republic of South Africa (Fieldnotes).

Similar tensions characterized the relationship between other expatriate entrepreneurs and their Montserratian workers. The sentiments expressed by H.S. and his wife were also voiced by the owner of one of the most popular restaurants. His exasperation with his employees was an almost daily topic of conversation with fellow expatriates. Those few expatriates who ran their own operation, or did so with the help of only one employee, tended to stay longer.

The vast majority of resort tourists who come to Montserrat are white, stay in hotels and have relatively little to do with the population of the island. Nevertheless, where they do enter into relations, the character is not qualitatively different from that which exists between residential tourists and Montserratians.

Although complaints about rude and hostile behavior were frequently heard (cf. Zinder, 1969), the relationship between Montserratians and resort tourists lacks the raw qualities described with reference to the residential tourists and expatriate entrepreneurs. While other commentators on the effects of tourism on West Indian race relations have focused on resort-tourism (see Chapter I), I do not consider it a fac-

tor of great significance in Montserrat in 1970. There are several reasons for this: the first is the prominant role of investment in residential tourism in Montserrat. Second, and reflecting the dominance of residential tourism, is the fact that resort tourism was developed largely by local capital. Third, the absence of large and luxurious resorts deters the high-spending tourist, and consequently most resort tourists who come to Montserrat are families on relatively modest budgets. Fourth, the hotels are situated far apart and strip development has not taken place. Fifth, the average duration of the resort tourist's stay in the island is short. Finally, the underdevelopment of shopping, entertainment and sight-seeing facilities tends to keep the resort tourists in and around the hotels. Together, these factors limit the influence of resort tourism on the on-going relations between tourists and Montserratians.

SUMMARY

The discussion of class and rank attempted to outline the changes and continuities which the growth of tourism effected. I emphasized the rise within the bourgeoisie of the "New Merchants", Montserratians who succeeded in establishing a variety of enterprises that cater to residential tourists, resort tourists and affluent Montserratians.

The new merchants form the core of a social segment in the island which also contains other upwardly mobile Montserratians. These include public servants, professionals and the intelligentsia - in general those who in recent years became an important segment of the Upper Stratum. I shall use the term "New Elite" with reference to this segment of the Upper Stratum. They do not constitute a class in the sense that I em-

ploy the concept in this study. They do, however, represent a social group whose members share important characteristics with respect to lifestyle and ideology.

In a crucial sense, the New Elite are a creation of dependency, i.e., the very process of tourism development which established ties of dependence also created opportunities for local investment and increased the number of high status occupations. These investment and occupational opportunities were taken advantage of by returning migrants and those who, in Montserrat and elsewhere, had acquired sufficiently high levels of training or education. Some of the New Elite were educated at the University of the West Indies.

As a creation of metropolitan investment, the New Elite reflect the influence of metropolitan culture, with its stress on the acquisition of imported consumer goods. Metropolitan influence is apparent also in the founding of, and enthusiasm for, branches of metropolitan service clubs such as the Jaycees' and the Rotarians. Emulation of metropolitan attitudes is reflected by one of the Jaycees' projects: the dressing up of Farm Village on the main road, near the airport. This village is poverty stricken and was considered an eyesore for arriving tourists, in need of "improvement".

The manner in which I employ the concept of elite is partly derived from Lipset (Lipset and Solari, 1967) who emphasizes values of modernity, universalism and achievement motivation. But, as Stavenhagen points out, Lipset's elites "are precisely those social groups who have sustained and benefited the most from underdeveloped dependent capitalism" (1975:16). Thus, the values of modernity are those that are part of the modernity of enclave development. As the Farm Village pro-

ject illustrates, universalism is expressed in a particular way, as values which reflect and serve the subordination of economic and social life by universal capital accumulation. Universalism and modernity gain grotesque qualities in the economic and social context in which they are espoused by the colonial elite.

The dependent character of the lifestyle and ideology of the New Elite is countered by values which stress West Indian nationhood, blackness and opposition to Whites. Thus, while products of the dependency of a quasi-staple economy, the New Elite are also antagonistic to it. In a paradoxical way, the antagonism expressed itself in opposition to residential tourism and support for resort tourism. West Indianism and Black Power increasingly became the main ideological dimensions of this opposition. I shall further discuss the ambiguous role of the New Elite with reference to the political process, in Chapter VIII.

Tourism development renewed the role of color in status determination. While class and race do not coincide, the association between whiteness, superordination and affluence reinforce the traditional importance of race. To the extent that relations between Whites and Montserratians are defined by servility, conflicts have a tendency to be expressed in racialist terms. This and the physical and social separateness of a growing white enclave community preserved and deepened the pluralist quality of the ranking order.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POLITICS OF TOURISM

Political activity is "social action ... which seeks to control or influence decisions concerning public affairs, that is, policy" (Balandier, 1972:29; cf. Smith, 1956). Balandier adds that political activity is defined by power, the power to change, or resist change, in the possession of individuals or groups of individuals. In this chapter I shall examine the process whereby changes in the economic and class structures of Montserrat were translated into political processes and decision making. The most important of these were the gradual shift away from residential tourism development toward resort tourism, and the gaining of control over public policy by the "New Elite" of Montserrat.

The shift away from residential tourism took place during the second half of the 1960's. Important milestones in this process were the moratorium on further subdivision that was placed by the former Labour administration and the defeat of the Labour Party by the Progressive Democratic Party in the 1970 General Election. The Progressive Democratic Party was essentially a political vehicle of the New Elite, designed to defeat the Labor Party in order to realize its aspirations. Conditions of economic decline, which obtained at the end of the decade and tensions in race relations combined to create conditions necessary

to provide the Progressive Democratic Party with mass support.

Organized opposition to residential tourism development began in 1966, with the creation of the "movement for the Retention of Part of the Leeward Coast for Montserratians". The immediate issue was the subdivision by Montserrat Estates Ltd. (see Chapter V) of an area known as Foxes Bay. This subdivision is part of Elberton Estate which, since the latter part of the 19th century, was owned by the Montserrat Company of England.

Subdivision of the Foxes Bay area would add another 200 acres to the 720 acres of the Leeward coast enclave and would create a virtual uninterrupted strip of residential tourism development, north of Plymouth. Until the Foxes Bay issue, routine approval for subdivision had been granted by the government on the basis of legislation then in existence.

The Retention Movement was founded and led by Austin and Howell Bramble, sons of the leader of the Labour Party and Chief Minister of the island. Both Austin and Howell had migrated to Curaçao during the 1940's and returned to Montserrat in the mid-1960's. Austin established a contracting business; Howell became involved in journalism. Austin and Howell were representative of the upper and middle stratum of Montserratians who in those early years began to emerge as the New Elite.

Shortly after Austin's return to Montserrat, the Chief Minister asked him to enter politics and run as the Labour Party candidate in the Plymouth riding, in the 1966 general election. Most of the New Elite resided within the boundaries of the Plymouth riding and it is likely that the Chief Minister intended to secure its support. While the New Elite were not numerically prominent, they were acquiring considerable social and political significance.

Upon his election to the Legislative Council, Austin Bramble was

appointed Minister of Communication and Works. This placed him in charge of public involvement in the development of a tourism infrastructure. Only a year and a half after his appointment as minister, Austin started the campaign against unfettered subdivision for residential tourism. It should be remembered that his father, the Chief Minister, had a financial interest in Linton Mark's dealings with one of the development companies on the eastern side of the island.

Opposition to the Foxes Bay development took the form of a campaign to put pressure on the local representatives of the development companies, on the Chief Minister and on the Administrator. Correspondence between the Bramble brothers, company officials and the Administrator, as well as an intended public address by Austin Bramble, indicate the following:

1. There was a concern with unchecked expansion of residential tourism and the consequent alienation of land in Montserrat.
2. Concerns about further increases in the number of residential tourists.
3. A concern about the effects of residential tourism on access to beaches and areas along the Leeward Coast.
4. A concern with the effect on employment and construction costs of the growing control over the economy of Montserrat by the development companies.

The campaign against the Foxes Bay subdivision was a failure and this was partly due to the fact that approval for subdivision had been granted prior to the campaign. More important, however, the Movement received no popular support. It is significant that West Indies Plantations took this early, and in many ways feeble, opposition to residential tourism development seriously. Through its local representatives it promised free land for schools and further economic benefits if the company were allowed to continue development. It also threatened to

pull out of the island if obstacles were put in its way.

Opposition to residential tourism expansion received further impetus in 1968 when West Indies Plantations Ltd. applied for subdivision of 26 acres of land above the Vue Pointe Hotel. The company had an option on this land, as it had on large tracts in other parts of the island (see Chapter V).

In direct opposition to the Chief Minister, Austin Bramble took his case before the Property Owners Association and read a prepared statement. He pointed out that further expansion would put tremendous strains on the cost of services. While the companies had agreed to provide adequate roads, and electrical and water services, maintenance was a government responsibility and this was proving to be an increasing economic burden. The maintenance of roads in the subdivisions, in particular, proved to be very expensive due to poor construction standards. Even without further subdivision, Austin told his expatriate audience, maintenance costs would increase in accelerating fashion, due to the fact that more homes were expected to be built in the subdivisions, thereby increasing the rate of deterioration. Increased spending on infrastructure would result from increasing demands for services; it would also overtax the capacity of the water system. Already the distribution system was shut down in many parts of the island, for most of the day, during dry periods.

Austin told the expatriates that the development companies were keenly aware of the effects of continued expansion on the resources of Montserrat. Nevertheless, they put pressure on the government to permit further subdivision.

The Minister of Communication and Works impressed on the property

owners the commonality of interests between them and the population of Montserrat. In this respect, unfettered expansion would affect them as much as it would the local population. Thus, it would be very short sighted for expatriates to ignore the threat to their interests, posed by the developers. This was especially true in terms of, what Austin Bramble characterized as, a growing concensus among Montserratians with regard to the effects of residential tourism. Such a concensus could easily affect the position of residential tourists and other expatriates in the island, in terms of antagonism directed toward them.

The Chief Minister had received advance notice of his son's intention to address the Property Owners Association. He therefore attended the meeting and told those present that Austin's statement in no way reflected government policy regarding residential tourism.

The disputed subdivision proposal for the 26 acres at Vue Pointe was never carried out. The request for a permit to subdivide was not granted, neither was approval granted by the government for any additional applications by the development companies. The options which Montserrat Estates had on a number of estates were never exercised. The moratorium left the developers with a rapidly diminishing stock of lots in the existing subdivisions. Toward the end of my fieldwork period, the Montserrat Real Estate Company Ltd. was winding up its business in Montserrat, since all its lots had been sold. Leeward Islands Development Company Ltd. was dormant, and Montserrat Estates was in the process of completing development of the Foxes Bay area.

My informants in the real estate business agreed that the Vue Pointe scheme of 1968 had brought the growing issue of unlimited alienation of land by the residential tourism developers to a head. Increasingly, the

anti-development stance of the New Elite gained the support of various segments of the population of the island. The 1968 moratorium suggests that the Labour Party had found it opportune to respond to the opposition. In order to outline the dynamics of the process whereby the New Elite was able to employ growing popular dissatisfaction with the government policies, I shall give an account of the 1970 general election.

1. THE 1970 GENERAL ELECTION

Although attempts to unseat the Labour Party, or at least one of its members in the Legislative Council, had been made in the past, never before had Labour had to face a real challenge to its hegemony.

> Spasmodic attempts to form opposition groups as alternatives to Bramble's Labour Party had been made at election time only to die with defeat at the polls. These ambitious groups found it difficult to wean the working classes from their sentimental attachment to the father figures of Labour; and the failure of the intelligentsia to trust themselves to the often treacherous waters of politics, has affected one feels the new faltering groups more than their established opponents (Fergus, 1975:44).

In 1970, however, circumstances obtained which made a challenge more serious. This challenge was made a few months before dissolution when Austin Bramble organized the Progressive Democratic Party. Austin had recently been shifted from the Ministry of Communications and Works to the Social Welfare ministry.

The fact that father and son faced each other as the leaders of competing parties makes for certain complications in the analysis of the political process. The familial conflict was of great popular interest and gained importance in campaign rhetoric. At this level, however, the conflict between father and son was only of strategic significance. The following analysis will largely ignore this aspect of the 1970 general

election.[1]

On the surface, the differences between the two parties, the Labour Party and the Progressive Democratic Party, reflected the traditional West Indian pattern of election contests that has been described for St. Vincent by Kenneth John (1966). The claims and counter-claims made in the election manifestos relate not so much to substance as to ability to carry out the promises of the programs. The Labour Party and the Progressive Democratic Party manifestos did, indeed, cover many of the same points and made many of the same promises regarding issues over which the local government had little or no control such as the economy, unemployment, housing and agriculture. They were largely "motherhood" issues over which there was no disagreement. It was, however, at political rallies in Plymouth, but also in the country settlements, that the differences with regard to public policy and the concerns of the Montserratian people became apparent.

The leader of the Labour Party and the other candidates and spokesmen detailed the party's performance and emphasized the need for continuity in economic policy. It was stressed that the direction of economic development which the party had initiated should be maintained. This meant that there would be increased dependence on the development companies to provide a source of economic activity. Although the program of

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[1] This is not to deny the importance of the role played by particularism in West Indian politics (see, e.g., Singham, 1968; Kenneth John, 1966). Philpott (1973:59-62) mentions the personalization of political relations in Montserrat. The subordination of class oppositions, personal relations and dependencies in the plantation society is discussed by Wolf (1959).

the Labour Party included a commitment to expand resort tourism and agricultural production, these would necessarily articulate in a dependent fashion with residential tourism.

Consistent with the leader's earlier pronouncements and actions, the Progressive Democratic Party came out strongly against further expansion of residential tourism. Opposition to this form of tourism did not include a stand against further construction in the existing subdivisions. The Progressive Democratic Party took pains to maintain a clear distinction between the two issues, so as not to appear threatening to the residential tourist community. Rather, the campaign strategy consisted of attempts to convince the electorate and the expatriates that the Labour Party had mismanaged the affairs of government and this included residential tourism development. Secondly, and in keeping with the personal role of the party leader in West Indian politics and administration, the Progressive Democratic Party charged the Chief Minister with personal responsibility for such mismanagement. As a former member of the Executive Council, Austin Bramble had witnessed his father reach decisions without consulting other opinions. He accused him of surrounding himself with "Yes-men" whose contributions to the process of policy formation were negligible. As examples of such practices he listed the following commitments that had been made by government without proper consultation with the other ministers, or with experts.

1. In 1967 the Montserrat Real Estate Company Ltd. had applied for subdivision of the Woodlands area. Approval was given by the Chief Minister, via the Administrator, without prior consultation. In return, the company had agreed to provide the government with land for the construction of a school in the same area. It turned out that the land had already been sold.

2. In 1966 the government negotiated with West Indies Plantations Ltd. for the sale of land at Corkhill Village. The area agreed upon was purchased by the government for $90,000. Austin Bramble alleged that

a survey of the land area had not been carried out prior to the conclusion of the deal.

3. Government provided guarantees for the instalment of services for 66 lots in the Isles Bay subdivision. These lots were marketed by West Indies Plantations Ltd. in the New York State area; State law required these guarantees before a marketing license could be granted. According to the Progressive Democratic Party, the guarantees were given without prior consultation.

4. In 1968 government took over maintenance of roads in the subdivisions from the development companies, in return for a lump sum payment of about $400,000. Again, the deal was concluded without prior consultation. Since the roads were so poorly constructed in the first place, the Progressive Democratic Party claimed that the contract represented a very easy way out for the companies and a burden for generations of Montserratians.

The Progressive Democratic Party's economic proposals and promises suggested a shift in the direction of economic development. First, strict limits were to be put on further development of residential tourism. Secondly, measures to foster increased home building in the existing subdivisions were to be introduced. Third, the main thrust of future tourism development would be in resort tourism; foreign investment in hotels and condominiums was to be encouraged. Fourth, a major effort would be made to resuscitate the agricultural industry.

The themes that were repeatedly heard at rallies in Plymouth and other settlements were the following: According to the Progressive Democratic Party, unlimited residential tourism development would threaten the very birthright of Montserratians. This was land. The Labour Party was responsible for the economic woes of the present, due to wasteful deals entered into with the development companies, without prior consultation.

Labour, on the other hand, stressed the fact that it had created the construction boom which had brought such tremendous economic growth and affluence to the island, which was apparent to all. To constrain the developers, according to the Chief Minister, "was to kill the goose

that laid the golden eggs". It would mean the end of economic development. More than the departure of the development companies was implied. The Labour Party leader suggested that by campaigning against residential tourism, the Progressive Democratic Party would antagonize the residential tourists. Antagonized and disillusioned residential tourists could perpetrate economic disaster on the island by leaving en masse, thus discouraging others from building homes in the subdivisions.

It was, of course, impossible to make an election issue of residential tourism without involving the residential tourist community and, by extension, the entire expatriate population. The simple truth was that residential tourism did not merely represent a form of economic base, but a social relationship between two groups, one superordinate and affluent, the other subordinate and largely poor, one white and the other black. The dynamic of the relationship was at least partly derived from antecedent economic, social and ideological forms that were discussed in previous chapters. The conflict over residential tourism that developed between the two political parties involved, per force, the tensions and conflicts of interpersonal and intergroup relations that were defined by class and race criteria. No matter how reasonable the position of the Progressive Democratic Party with regard to the dangers of residential tourism development, the party could not help but antagonize the white population of Montserrat.

This antagonism resulted from the party's position regarding the long-term role of residential tourism in the island's economic and social development, in the light of the identification of residential tourism with a racial group. Eventually, the racial factor was voiced by a Labour Party spokesman who accused the Progressive Democratic Party of anti-white attitudes. Consequently, Whites displayed an increasing un-

easiness as the campaign wore on and were conspicuous by their absence during campaign rallies. Feelings of apprehension and concern about the future were expressed to me by residential tourists and expatriate entrepreneurs.

In short, the Progressive Democratic Party was unsuccessful in allying the expatriates. It is one of the ironies of recent history of Montserrat, as well as an example of the dynamic of class, race and ideology, that William Bramble, who during the 1950's was a symbol of struggle against the "Old Whites", found himself with the solid support and the hopes of the "New Whites" of Montserrat.

The Labour Party fielded candidates in all except the Plymouth riding. Here the Progressive Democratic Party candidate was Austin Bramble, its leader and former representative for the Labour Party. An independent candidate, Eric Kelsick, opposed him. During the course of the campaign, Mr. Kelsick firmly allied himself with the Labour Party.

As a group, the six Labour candidates represented the few remaining "true" Labourites, i.e., Labour members of the previous Legislative Council who were still candidates for the party. Eric Kelsick represented the "marriage" between the Labour Party and the old merchants. This new alliance is probably best expressed by the role which Mr. Kelsick played in the campaign. Although formally an independent, Mr. Kelsick strongly articulated the Labour stand on economic policy, especially where it concerned the future of residential tourism. Ironically, just over a decade ago, in 1957, William Bramble and Eric Kelsick had faced each other as chief antagonists during the crisis in the cotton industry. At that time, Mr. Kelsick was the leader of the Democratic Party, whose members represented the planters and merchants (Fergus, 1975:

44). During the 1970 campaign, Mr. Kelsick warned that defeat of Labour would spell economic disaster. He promised that a new Labour administration would once more approve applications from the development companies for subdivision. His message was a simple one: "Labour government has given you prosperity; it has given me prosperity. The choice you have is one between experience and experimentation. I run in this election because the future of the economy is in danger if the Progressive Democratic Party, with its inexperienced candidates, is elected. I am offering you experience. When Montserrat prospers, I prosper. I have a stake in the continuation in office of the Montserrat Labour Party. A Progressive Democratic Party government would destroy those things which gave us prosperity. Investment would cease, residential tourism development would grind to a halt. Montserrat would suffer, I would suffer" (field recordings).

The Kelsick family is one of the most influential business and professional families in Montserrat, and in other Leeward Islands. It owns and operates a number of enterprises in and around Plymouth. Mr. Kelsick manages one of the family's stores, the Texaco franchise, which includes both bulk and retail outlets, the British Leyland franchise and an insurance agency.

The candidates of the Progressive Democratic Party represented an alliance of various oppositions to Labour. A typical example is John Osborne. He was one of the most successful new entrepreneurs, with merchandising and shipping interests. Osborne was the incumbent independent member of Council for the Northwest District. His opposition

to Labour appears to have had a personal character, only[1]. The remaining Progressive Democratic Party candidates were civil servants and other new entrepreneurs. They clearly represented the New Elite.

As the date for the General Election approached, it became clear that the Labour Party had lost much of its support, which, up until that time, had been almost automatic. Whatever sentimental attachment the working people of Montserrat had for Mr. William Bramble in the past, it had clearly been eroded since the 1966 election. Labour Party rallies, although they were well attended, became increasingly difficult and uncomfortable for party members. Crowds in Mr. Bramble's own village, Corkhill, would shout down Labour speakers with "No, no, no, we want Austin". Mr. Kelsick was constantly heckled, which sometimes made it virtually impossible for him to carry on. At one meeting I watched firecrackers explode right in front of the Chief Minister who was trying to speak in Mr. Kelsick's support.

The election results gave the Progressive Democratic Party a monopoly in the Legislative Council, as all Labour candidates and Mr. Kelsick was defeated. While the defeat of the Labour Party did not come as a surprise, the extent of the defeat was greater than anyone had hoped for, or feared. The personal defeat of Mr. Bramble by a political novice, in a district that includes most of the tourist enclave on the Leeward side, was indicative of the structural changes in the island's way of life and the tensions which resulted.

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[1]Mr. Osborne left the Progressive Democratic Party, and his post as Minister of Agriculture, Trade, Lands and Housing in 1972, following a dispute with the Chief Minister.

The election results showed that Labour had lost most heavily in those districts where the transition from traditional modes of livelihood to tourism-derived employment had been most complete. In these ridings Progressive Democratic Party support was overwhelming. This was much less the case in districts that were removed from the enclaves, such as in the Northern, Windward and Eastern districts. In those parts independent household production of subsistence remained the basis for gaining a livelihood.

The areas of the island in which the Progressive Democratic Party received greatest support have two broad characteristics in common:

1. The re-allocation of factors of production that accompanied the development of tourism has proceeded furthest.

2. Wage labor for cash wages has become the most common means of gaining a livelihood. In these parts of the island we find most of the tourism development, both residential and resort. Here, too, virtually all commercial establishments and government offices are located. Corkhill Village is a prime example of the manner in which the way of life of Montserratians has changed as a result of the growth of a quasi-staple economy. Mr. William Bramble was born in this village, yet his support had shifted to a taxi driver, a symbol of tourism in the West Indies.

In contrast, outside the enclaves, intermittent wage labor, subsistence level production, and remittances continued to play their traditional role.

The relationship between economic marginality and the fact of residential tourism in the 1970 General Election gained a special dimension in the Windward District. Prior to 1958 the estates of Wade Plantations Ltd., as well as a number of other estates, provided a source of employment for the local population. Typically, the people derived a livelihood from wage labor, dependent and independent household production. This region was also the center of opposition to the plantocracy during the 1950's; it suffered some of the greatest population losses

due to migration.

As leader of the union and of the Labour Party, William Bramble had gained almost unlimited personal support from the population of the Windward District. He had represented the district until the 1970 election. After the collapse of staple production and the rise of his political career, Mr. Bramble entered into partnership with Linton Mark who had made a fortune in the Trinidad oil boom. Mark and Bramble purchased the estates of Wade Plantations Ltd., totaling just over 1,400 acres. As I explained elsewhere, Bramble's interest in Mark's enterprise closely involved him with the actions of the Leeward Islands Development Company, the developer of residential tourism on the windward side. Thus, Bramble's own financial success was tied to the development of residential tourism.

The involvement of William Bramble in the Windward land deals did not become an election issue until 1970. Household producers in the area had been able to gain access to land of the former Wade Plantation estates at nominal cost, or entirely free. Increasingly, however, property owners in the Spanish Pointe subdivision complained about illegal tethering and pasturing of stock and pilfering by Montserratians in the area. The Chief Minister had, for a long time, been unwilling to move against the trespassers. When he finally did, by having some of the animals shot, the people became very angry. Informants told me that Mr. Bramble handed out land just before the election. The election results, however, show that attempts to regain lost support were unsuccessful. Mr. Edwards, one of William Bramble's closest collaborators since the 1950's, lost the district to a Progressive Democratic Party candidate.

2. INTERPRETATION

The defeat of the Labour Party and the resulting change in public policy regarding tourism development, will be interpreted as a coincidence of a number of oppositions that were derived from class and status differences. This coincidence obtained under particular circumstances. It produced the alliance of groups necessary to defeat the Labour administration.

I suggested earlier that the Progressive Democratic Party represented an alliance of various strains of opposition to Labour. Most prominently amongst these figured the New Elite. The opposition to Labour by the New Elite, however, was not sufficient to change public policy. In order to acquire the formal political power required to effect a change in public policy, the New Elite required popular support.

The members of the New Elite were united in their opposition to unlimited residential tourism development. This opposition was based on a fear that unfettered expansion would eventually severely reduce access to land by Montserratians. Residential tourism was a threat to the very birthright of the Montserratian population. For the New Elite, access to land meant access to lots in residential subdivisions which are more desirable than those available in and around Plymouth. To this end, the government had created residential subdivisions for local use at Dagenham and at Weeke's.

The New Elite, however, did not move into existing subdivisions created for residential tourists. This is explained by the fact that most of the lots were marketed in North America and were rapidly sold to expatriates. Secondly, few of the New Elite would choose to live in the "white" subdivisions. The ideology of West Indian nationhood and Black

Power whose superficial trappings had been adopted by members of the New Elite, precluded entry into the enclaves. The high cost of land was also a hindrance to even the most affluent of the New Elite. Continued expansion of residential tourism would mean development of those areas already in the hands of the development companies but, as yet, not formally designated for subdivision. It would also further increase the market value of land. The quest for land, of the kind that was subdivided for residential tourism, also reflects the extent to which the lifestyle of the New Elite acquired similarities with that of the enclave population.

What emerges, therefore, is that while largely a product of the particular type of quasi-staple economy which had developed in Montserrat, the New Elite formed interests contrary to it. This meant, in the first place, opposition between the interests of the old merchants and the new entrepreneurs who made up the core of the New Elite. The old merchants were allied with the metropolitan investors; the new entrepreneurs increasingly advocated a shift to resort tourism. In this they were supported by the non-entrepreneurial segment of the New Elite, the public servants and other high status Montserratians.

Earlier I suggested that some of the leaders of the Labour Party had penetrated the ranks of the bourgeoisie. Accordingly, they had become identified with residential tourism and as allies of the old merchants. To the New Elite, opposition to residential tourism meant opposition to the old merchants and their political vehicle, the Labour Party. Opposition to residential tourism also implied a change in public policy that favored resort tourism as a basis for economic growth. Given the predominance of residential tourism in Montserrat and its links

with metropolitan investors, resort tourism lacked the connotations of metropolitan and white dominance[1]. The new entrepreneurs, moreover, were involved in enterprises which would likely benefit most from the type of business that is generated by resort tourism.

A struggle for change in public policy could not be successful without the broad support of the working people of Montserrat. It was continued support for William Bramble's Labour Party by the working class which made earlier attempts falter.

It was the structural changes in the economy and society of Montserrat, in combination with the economic downturn of the late 1960's, which provided the New Elite with the required popular support. As was the economic success and the rising affluence of the first half of the decade, the economic depression was identified with Bramble's Labour Party. The collective perception of the Chief Minister as a foe of planter and merchant changed to one of ally of the Old Elite. The symbolism of Mr. Bramble as "estate owner" in the Windward district, handing out land and shooting livestock, is of great importance, given the history of paternalism and coercion in the plantation society.

Whereas the association between Labour and residential tourism had ensured political support during economic expansion, stagnation provided fertile ground for cooptation of the working class by the New Elite. Previous chapters demonstrated the extent to which wage labor had replaced other sources of livelihood, especially in and around the tourist

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[1] A very popular Montserratian calypso in 1970 was "Hold on to your Property", symbolizing the opposition to residential tourism. Another song, by the same calypsonian, celebrated Montserrat as a holiday island.

enclaves. The decline of residential tourism's rate of expansion after 1967 was experienced directly and most severely by those whose very livelihood depended on it. It was those members of the working class who had personally experienced the decline of the late 1960's who played the specific role of providing the basis for broad working class support for the Progressive Democratic Party in the 1970 election.

Antagonism between racial groups, between white expatriates and black Montserratians, represented conflicts that arise from inequality and exploitation. In this case, both class and stratum criteria played a role in which racialist ideology was mobilized as a dimension in the conflict. Thus, working class support for the Progressive Democratic Party was strengthened by the association of opposition to residential tourism with opposition to Whites. Conversely, support for the expansion of residential tourism was associated with support for the white community. The Labour Party's stand on economic policy identified it with the interests of the old merchants, the development companies and the Whites. Consequently, class oppositions more closely coincided with racial opposition. The identification of anti-residential tourism with anti-white sentiments clearly distinguished the two parties in the 1970 election as far as collective perceptions are concerned. The mobilization of Black Power ideology, in which the intelligentsia played an important role, ensured that support for the Progressive Democratic Party was identified with a vote for Montserrat and the birthright of Montserratians.

In conclusion, the discussion of the politics of tourism indicated various oppositions in Montserratian intergroup relations that derived from class and status distinctions. The driving force behind the opposition to residential tourism development was the New Elite. While the

New Elite were a product of the type of quasi-staple economy that developed in Montserrat, their aspirations as an elite were hindered by unlimited expansion of residential tourism. Under conditions of economic decline, the New Elite were able to mobilize support of the working class and gain control of the formal institutions of decision making and administration. At the same time, however, the New Elite's own class base ensured that the economic policy they advocated would perpetuate the island's dependency and marginalization.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters I have presented a case against widely held views regarding the beneficial role of tourism in underdeveloped countries. My argument is based on the assumption that tourism is a quasi-staple whose introduction in a hinterland of exploitation replicates the process of underdevelopment that accompanied the expansion of traditional staple production.

The argument in favor of tourism as a developmental strategy is based largely on the premise that the establishment of a tourist enclave will have a beneficial influence on the economy and society of the underdeveloped host country. In addition to stimulating service industries, construction and transportation, tourism is thought to play a beneficial role in relation to domestic agriculture. Tourism is also assumed to have a modernising effect on the social structures and value systems that are considered obstacles to the developmental process (Maier & Baldwin, 1957; United Nations, 1951, quoted by Strauss, 1970:33).

What may be termed the "protagonist view" of the consequences of tourism in underdeveloped countries is a variant of dualist development models in Economics, Sociology and Anthropology. The concept of duality was pioneered by Boeke (1953), with reference to the former Dutch East Indies. Duality refers to economic and social systems which are segment-

ed into different-and antagonistic-economic, social and cultural spheres[1]. Dual-economies contain a pre-capitalist sector, in which production of subsistence goods is carried on by traditional means, and a capitalist enclave which is organized for the production of commodities. An important dimension of the duality between capitalist and pre-capitalistic economic spheres is the contrast between different value systems which accompany them (cf. Hoetink, 1971:91).

A very similar view is part and parcel of the Durkheimian and Weberian traditions in North American social thought. Toennies' concepts of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft originally referred to a contrast between natural and artificial social structures, the community and the society (1957). Chodak points out that whereas Toennies saw the establishment of society "corroding the Gemeinschaft unity of genuine togetherness", Durkheim "admired the growing societal interdependence and systemness engendered by (that) process" (1973:47).

With Weber, the contrasting forms of social life become the contrasting processes of Vergemeinschaftung and Vergesellschaftung. Moreover,

> ..., Vergesellschaftung, through the complex process of change, engulfs the earlier established structures of Vergemeinschaftung. (Weber) basically employs the same dichotomy as Toennies did but views it as processes (Ibid.:48).

And,

> Both Vergemeinschaftung and Vergesellschaftung are regarded simultaneously as ideal types, systems of social action, and processes of cumulative transformative

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[1] Closely related to Boeke's concept of dualism is that of the "plural society" proposed by Furnivall (1948) which, in turn, was adapted to the study of West Indian societies by M.G. Smith (1965).

> growth. Thus the system is presented as identical to a process of transformation which results from changes in growth (Ibid.:49).

Vergesellschaftung is, inter alia, also a process of increasing rationality, the replacement of Wertrational by Zweckrational (Weber, 1947: 115-117).

The unfolding of the "spirit of Capitalism" represents the ultimate Vergesellschaftung of social life by the ethic and rationality of the market.

We clearly recognize this Weberian strain in Parsonian development models[1]. Development or rather "modernization" is a process of

> ...transformation of social behavior from a form which in its economically relevant aspect is oriented toward ascription, particularism and functional diffuseness to a form of social behavior oriented toward achievement, universalism and functional specificity (Hoselitz, 1960:60).

Translated into a dualist thesis, the Parsonian development strategy sees the traditional, pre-capitalist, sphere of society as an obstacle to development. On the other hand, the modern, capitalist enclave "generates within itself its own transformations and is the focal point of economic development, ... (Stavenhagen, 1968:15). Thus, "the modern capitalist sector will expand to incorporate the backward one and lead the country into self-sustaining growth" (Stavenhagen, 1975:12).

It follows that an important dimension of the process of expansion of the capitalist sector is the spread of "strong values or rules sustaining achievement and universalism" (Lipset, 1967:44). The obstacles to development are to be removed by a "Competent elite, motivated to modernize their society" (Lipset and Solari, 1967:viii).

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[1] See especially David Apter, 1965.

In summary, dualist development models stress the obstacles posed to modernization by archaic production patterns and values and norms which dominate social life in the traditional sphere. Development in underdeveloped countries is enhanced first and foremost by the expansion of the capitalist enclave and secondly by the steady replacement of traditional values and norms by the universalism of the enclave. The agents of this modernization process are the products of enclave capitalism: the national elite.

Dualism provides the ideological and theoretical underpinnings for tourism as a development strategy. Capital investment and the spending of tourist dollars result in a steady expansion of the capitalist economic sphere, thereby modernizing traditional forms. Labor is drawn away from traditional subsistence production (cf. Krause and Jud, 1973). According to Arthur Lewis "there are large sectors of the economy where the marginal productivity of labour is negligible, zero, or even negative" (1954:141). Tourism will ensure that "the surplus of manpower in the 'subsistence' or traditional sector, which is dominated by, but not confined to traditional agriculture, is absorbed by the modern or 'capitalist' sector" (Johnston, 1970:376).

It follows from the model that, in addition to these desirable economic changes, the expansion of tourism will also contribute to modernization and expansion of the national elite. The growth of business and increase of entrepreneurial roles will have such an effect. Ultimately, the elite will be prepared to answer their historical Beruf, or calling (Weber, 1930), and assume their proper role in the modernizing process.

The position which I take in this dissertation is antagonistic to

dualist theory and development strategy. In brief, the evidence which I presented in the preceding chapters suggests that while the growth of tourism did result in a steady decline of traditional subsistence production, it failed to initiate the anticipated development process. Indeed, I argued that the opposite was the case. Instead of fostering greater structural interdependence among the sectors, tourism expansion caused more structural distortion and dependence. Brett's conclusions regarding the consequences of enclave capitalism in East Africa largely apply to the Montserrat case, as well.

> Although colonialism induced a rapid expansion of the cash economy in East Africa, it has also left behind an economy characterized by continuing and perhaps intensifying structural imbalances, massive and growing inequalities, apparently irreducible dependence on external sources of technological innovation, ... (1973:305).

Brett argues that hinterland underdevelopment is a consequence of the special features of enclave capitalism. Following Laclau, he suggests that "the creation of relations of servile dependency do not constitute the evolution of the capitalist system proper, but only a bastardized version of it" (Ibid.:307).

I discussed the historical development of enclave capitalism in Montserrat. The expansion of staple production created dependence on external propellants. Internally this was expressed by marginalization of the domestic economy, in particular domestic agriculture. In Chapter III I provided evidence that this process was a cyclical one, i.e., expansion of staple production was followed by decline which, in turn, was followed by expansion of the staple economy. Decline of the staple economy created conditions for economic transformation, in that there was a potential for autonomous growth of the domestic economy. At the

same time, however, such conditions also made possible initiation of a new expansion phase. This occurred in Montserrat after 1860. The switch from sugar to cotton, in the present century, was a variant of this process.

In Chapter IV I discussed the collapse of Montserrat's traditional staple economy. I showed that this was largely due to the planters' inability to maintain production in the face of declining profits. Whereas in the past the relations of staple production had allowed the planters to coerce their workers into selling their labor sufficiently cheaply to ensure a margin of profit, a number of conditions, such as migration, remittances and constitutional changes enabled workers to make changes in relations of production.

Collapse of the staple economy created conditions favorable for the transformation of economic and social life in Montserrat. Indeed, the process of decline and collapse of plantation agriculture, during the 1950's, was accompanied by an increase in food self-sufficiency. On the other hand, those conditions simultaniously represented a potential for the anti-thesis of transformation: re-peripheralization. Inherent in the process of expansion of an externally propelled staple economy is the concentration of factors of production. While the decline of the staple economy creates opportunities for the expansion of the domestic economy, it also leaves the economy a legacy of extreme vulnerability.

In Montserrat such vulnerability was expressed at the end of the 1950's by the idle state of the factors of production previously applied in staple production and a general state of bankruptcy of the island. At the level of economy, therefore, decline of an externally propelled

staple economy creates contradictory potentials. On the one hand, the freeing of domestic agriculture from its dependent relationship with staple production lays the basis for economic transformation. On the other hand, the underdevelopment which is a corollary of the expansion of the staple economy leaves the hinterland in a state of extreme vulnerability to re-peripheralization.

Economic vulnerability was enhanced by the fact that even though the planter class was financially bankrupt and had lost its traditional power, it still monopolized the ownership of land. Moreover, the local bourgeoisie, the merchants, had finally realized their post-Emancipation striving for hegemony. This, however, also ensured continued hegemony of the ideology of enclave capitalism.

In spite of the success of the workers' struggle against the planters, the collapse of Montserrat's staple economy which it precipitated, created its own economic and social obstacles to transformation. Consequently, North American investors who were looking for opportunities to develop residential tourism in the Eastern Caribbean found a fertile soil in Montserrat. Planters were anxious to sell their land; local capital was available for investment in hotel construction to serve the development of residential tourism.

In the remainder of this dissertation I presented evidence to demonstrate that the growth of tourism reproduced the process of underdevelopment which was traditionally associated with the expansion of staple production. In Chapter V I showed that the investment in tourism resulted in a concentration of factors of production in sectors of the economy which depended on quasi-staple export. This meant that there was a rapidly increasing dependence of economic life in Montserrat on external

propellants. Tourism played a role which was very similar to those played by sugar and cotton in the past. In Chapters V and VI I discussed the peripheralization of the domestic economy.

Whereas traditional staple production monopolized the use of land at the expense of domestic agriculture, it maintained land as a factor of material production. In contrast, the expansion of tourism, due to the fact that land is alienated from agricultural production, creates a virtually permanent obstacle to economic transformation. Theoretically, the tendency of tourism expansion is toward the complete destruction of alternative sources of livelihood. The growth-underdevelopment contradiction which the expansion of tourism engenders is more fully developed in Bermuda and the Bahamas than it is in Montserrat. These are prime examples of the rapid growth induced by tourism, but growth which was accompanied by extreme underdevelopment and vulnerability to changes in external propellants.

In Chapter VII I discussed changes in the class structure and in the order of ranking. I showed that economic growth fostered by tourism resulted in expansion of the local bourgeoisie and greater proletarianization of the working population. The dependent character of these processes, however, was reflected by the subordination of the local bourgeoisie to metropolitan capital and by the concentration of labor in externally propelled non-material production.

We saw that the local bourgeoisie became segmented into the old and the new merchants. The new merchants formed the core of a social group to which I referred as the New Elite. The importance of the New Elite was that their interests became antagonistic to those of the older segment of the bourgeoisie. Their aspirations placed the New Elite in op-

position to unfettered expansion of residential tourism. In Chapter VIII I outlined the political process whereby the New Elite were able to mobilize support of sections of the working class against metropolitan and local interests in residential tourism development.

Support for the political goals of the New Elite by members of the working class was a consequence of economic decline in the late 1960's and tensions in race relations. In this context it is important to note that the various types of servile relations which the expansion of tourism fostered, perpetuated the pluralism of the plantation society.

The role of the New Elite was ambiguous. On the one hand, they espoused ideas that are antagonistic to dependency and underdevelopment. Their aspirations, as a social group of growing economic and social importance, placed them in opposition to North American capital and the older vested interests in Montserrat, in particular the older segment of the local bourgeoisie. On the other hand, those aspirations can only be realized within continuing dependency relations. Thus, although the New Elite identified residential tourism with colonialism and white supremacy, their reliance on, and involvement in, externally propelled forms of economic activity, defined them as agents of enclave capitalism. Whatever progressive (anti-dependency) tendencies the New Elite represented, they were negated by the means on which they were dependent to realize their aspirations.

Far from being a vanguard in the transformation of a dependent and underdeveloped society, the New Elite form a primary obstacle to such transformation. In spite of their rhetoric, the New Elite are incapable of nurturing the developmental potential of domestic agriculture. Their Beruf, whose real character is manifested by an opposition to metropolitan

alienation of land borne out of emulation of metropolitan values, precludes such a role.

> Thus the modernization of the elites, so assiduously propounded by the development sociologists, will only reinforce the internal polarization and the external dependency of the underdeveloped countries, ... (Stavenhagen, 1975:16).

In Chapter I I proposed that the very conditions of underdevelopment which made Montserrat attractive to investment in tourism contributed to renewal of dependence relations and the underdevelopment process. The evidence which I have presented demonstrates that the expansion of tourism created serious economic and social obstacles to the structural transformation of Montserrat.

I used the term vulnerability to denote the condition which the expansion of a staple or quasi-staple economy engenders. The term refers to a susceptibility to injury upon disappearance of the external propellant. The marginalization of domestic agriculture and the peripheralization of the elite by tourism are processes which foster vulnerability because alternatives to tourism are progressively reduced or eliminated. In this sense, the underdevelopment effects of tourism may be considered more serious than those of plantation agriculture.

This leads us to consider the future of Montserrat. It is clear that residential tourism will play a decreasing economic role. The rate of new home construction in the subdivisions has continued to decline in recent years. In 1976 only seven houses were built by expatriates. In addition, local investment participated in the construction of an eleven-unit condominium in the Richmond area (personal communication with the Montserrat Statistics Office).

The declining economic role of residential tourism will not be

accompanied by commensural changes in the role of the expatriate community in the island's social life. One may anticipate the contrary: as the relative economic usefulness of a large metropolitan population declines, perceptions regarding the social disruption which it causes may become more pronounced. One may expect intensification of antagonism in race relations.

The present absence of real alternatives to residential tourism and staple agriculture will dictate an increasing commitment to resort tourism on the part of the bourgeoisie of Montserrat. Consequently, the segmentation of this class into "old" and "new" sections, during the 1960's, is likely to disappear.

While Montserrat had a comparative advantage for residential tourism development, this is clearly not the case with respect to resort tourism. Moreover, resort tourism in the Caribbean is notoriously sensitive to economic recession in North America. At the same time, since other West Indian territories have also relied on tourism to stimulate economic growth, Montserrat will probably experience increasing competition. Under such conditions, economic growth in Montserrat is likely to be slow. Reliance on aid from Great Britain, and other sources, will also increase.

Stagnation or decline of Montserrat's quasi-staple economy will, once again, produce the traditional response by the island's working people: migration. There are indications, however, that migration as a response to adversity in underdeveloped countries will become more difficult (cf. Philpott, 1973:191, regarding the "disappearance of 'migration-oriented' societies"). Restrictions on immigration in metropolitan countries and similar obstacles within the Caribbean will become increasingly

important, in this respect.

Under conditions of economic decline and restrictions on migration, tensions in Montserratian social life will probably become more pronounced. Demands for change will intensify. It is impossible, however, to predict the direction which the dynamic, unleashed by demands for change, will take. To the extent that it lies in the contradictions of class relations and, also to the extent that the process will transcend the microscopic dimensions of Montserrat, it is possible to anticipate changes in the traditional dependency relations.

One aspect of the stunted nature of enclave-capitalism is the incomplete development of its class structure (Brett, 1973:307). This clearly applied to Montserrat's post-Emancipation plantation society. The proletarianization of the working population was inhibited by various dependency ties in the relations of staple production. We saw, however, that the expansion of tourism during the 1960's resulted in a higher level of proletarianization than existed in the past. It is in this sense that the renewal of dependency relations which metropolitan investment in tourism produced, may act as a double-edged sword, "one destructive, the other regenerating" (Marx, 1968:82).

Thus, on the one hand, the growth of an externally propelled quasi-staple economy increased the obstacles to transformation by marginalization of the domestic economy and by defining the roles of the elite as agents of metropolitan capital accumulation. On the other hand, the maturation of class relations may contribute to a realization of the potential for transformation which lies in the contradictions of those relations.

APPENDIX

COLLECTION OF DATA: STRATEGY AND PROBLEMS

Although some generally available data, which were chiefly of an economic nature, was collected before and after the main period of fieldwork in Montserrat, the majority of the data which I have presented in this dissertation was collected during two periods of fieldstudy. A preliminary study was carried out in July and August of 1969. It had the specific purpose of determining the possibility of studying the effects of tourism in the island. A rough outline of such a project had been formed during theoretical preparation and a survey of the literature on the Leeward Islands. I also hoped that I might be able to make initial contacts which could be developed later.

The brief fieldtrip in 1969 was very productive. First, it helped me to overcome considerable initial resistance to "getting out there", note-book in hand. Secondly, the extent to which residential tourism development had already made its mark, in less than a decade, soon became apparent. Thirdly, many of the Montserratians and "expatriates"[1], whom

[1] Ex-patriate is a term used in Montserrat with reference to a metropolitan White who is a resident of the island.

I met and informally interviewed, as part of my attempt to become oriented toward the economic and social problems facing Montserrat, were of considerable assistance a year later. It now appears to me that the "feel for the place" and the contacts which my wife and I established in 1969 saved me much time and effort in 1970. In addition, I was able to make a provisional selection of a settlement area in which to live and carry out a household survey. Finally, the contradictions of the colonial situation were presented to me in the form of the obvious the wealth concentrated in the subdivisions of the residential tourists in comparison with the squallor of most Montserrian settlements. This was confirmed during a brief hitchhiking encounter, when a residential tourist drove home the raw quality of racism, which I had previously experienced only in the abstract. When I told our host that I was an anthropologist, his response was almost enthusiastic: "You've come to the right place; these people are only a few feet away from the trees".

The second period of fieldwork was carried out between August 1970 and June, the following year. The contacts which we had established the previous year were very helpful, not only in terms of arranging interviews and starting the process of data collection, but also with regard to getting settled domestically. We decided to live in Plymouth during the first few months of our stay. This was done for reasons of orientation and also because government offices, the court house and the Register of Titles and Deeds, as well as most business establishments, were located in and around the capital. While I renewed acquaintances made a year earlier and attempted to seek out those persons who appeared most promising to interview in terms of their knowledge of the past and the present, I began to collect the types of documentary material which

was readily available. This process was both systematic and helter-skelter. The fact that the Register of Titles and Deeds was located in the court house and that it was open Saturday mornings, when the court was not in session, meant that I could take the Books of Titles and Deeds and examine them in the court room. This was the only permissible area. I examined the registration of each title and each deed, as well as the transfer of titles and deeds between 1955 and 1971. I recorded the registration and transfer of all titles and deeds that involved parcels of five acres or more. This provided me with an accurate record of land sales that were part of the process of re-allocation of land as a factor of production.

The collection of economic data, especially those concerning the 1940's and 1950's, was much less systematic. The main problem was the location of materials which might be in the Chief Minister's office, the office of the Administrator (Governor), or in some ministry or office. The manner in which documents were filed was such that much time was spent in searching. Searching for documents, however, required permission for access from government officials, from the Administrator and the Chief Minister, down to clerks in the Post Office. This, in turn, made it necessary to establish rapport with the officials involved. It was a task which consumed much of my time during the first few months of fieldwork. Part of my strategy, in this task, was to seek out key people in government offices and familiarize them with the research problem, to the extent and in the hope, that they would recognize the value of a particular document as it passed through their hands.

Since photocopying facilities were not available on the island, and abstracting or handcopying would have been too time consuming, I

photographed all documents to which I gained access.

Certain types of data were virtually impossible to collect. I was singularly unsuccessful in gaining access to Post Office records on remittances. I was given a different reason in each attempt. On one occasion I was told that such records were kept for only two years and then destroyed. Another time I was told that they were kept in a different location. Poor rapport with Post Office officials, or the fact that relations between ex-patriates and the Post Office were difficult, may account for my problems. Fortunately, however, I was able to obtain the information from the Statistics Office.

I also made attempts to obtain privately-held records, especially estate books, which could provide me with additional information regarding the crucial post-War period. Although I established amicable relations with a number of ex-planters, most refused to make their books available to me. Those that did provide me with accounts, profit and loss statements, etc., had been attornies for large plantation companies.

My interview schedule was geared to collect information on two broad issues: the economics and politics of plantation agriculture during the post-War period and the political economy of tourism during the 1960's. My strategy with respect to the former was to interview ex-planters, workers' leaders, politicians and workers, who were intimately involved in the struggle which eventually led to the collapse of the plantation system. Co-operation was generally very good and in spite of the fact that most of those interviewed presented arguments for stands taken fifteen to twenty years ago, the open-ended format of the discussions made it possible, with the help of documentary evidence such as inquiry reports, to reconstruct the process of decline and collapse of the plan-

tation system. Interviews of this nature were held in the late afternoon and early evening, leaving most of the remainder of the day for other activities.

Because tourism became such a central issue in the campaign, the 1970 general election provided me with a unique opportunity to collect information. For example, I gained access to correspondence between leaders of the anti-residential tourism movement, the Administrator, and officers of the development companies.

The election campaign itself generated a number of issues which directly related to the future of tourism and the presence of a large ex-patriate community on the island. I attended many of the campaign rallies and I was able to make recordings of most, although at times this was questioned. Usually, my wife and I were the only Whites present at the meetings. Provided one was familiar with both the broader socio-economic context and its history, campaign rallies in Montserrat probably presented some of the best opportunities for collecting data regarding political activity. The reason for this was the fact that the audience participated, creating a dialogue between speaker and listeners in which general and specific issues were vented and hotly debated.

The second part of the fieldstudy was devoted primarily to gathering information on economic and social changes during the 1960's. By and large, this meant collecting more documentary and statistical data, but also observation and participation. Shortly after Christmas we moved into a house in Corkhill, a few miles north of Plymouth in an area which was formerly under estate cultivation but which is now within the tourist enclave. By this time we were sufficiently settled in the island, in terms of having established many relationships with Montserratians and

non-Montserratians and in terms of simply being known, to employ the techniques of participant observation to a greater extent. Our move to Corkhill was chiefly designed to collect household data in the area. This was necessary in order to more precisely determine economic and social changes in those parts of the island which were entirely dependent on tourism. I administered a household survey and collected information regarding lifestyle and interpersonal relations, in particular with respect to class, stratification and race relations. This was an ongoing process; we had to overcome initial suspicions about our presence in the village[1]. I also selected assistants to help me with the survey.

Throughout our stay in Montserrat I paid special attention to conflict situations, in terms of type of conflict, persons involved and manner of resolution. This was particularly important in view of the fact that while an incident might be small or trivial at the outset, it was its development to the state where public opinion became involved that the tensions in Montserratian social life could be observed.

As I anticipated, the main problem facing the white fieldworker in Montserrat was identification with the residential tourists. Such identification was made by Montserratians and ex-patriates, alike, and required a special strategy on our part. This consisted of actively resisting involvement in the ex-patriate community. It was based on the premise that unless we strictly avoided the enclave cocktail circuit, the yacht club, the golf club, parties and other "social" events, rapport with Montserratians would be difficult, if not impossible, to establish

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[1] Later we found out that at first we were suspected of being 'communists', or agents of the new administration (Corkhill was part of William Bramble's riding and his original home).

and to maintain. We did go to bars and restaurants which were frequented by Montserratians and ex-patriates. Since our strategy of avoidance did not make us many acquaintences among the ex-patriates, we normally sat with Montserratians or with mixed groups.

The ease with which we gained acceptance by Montserratians and the friendships we established may, I think, be interpreted as indicators of the success of our avoidance strategy. When we took up residence in the village, we received generous assistance, in the form of a moving van and some furnishings, from our Montserratian friends. There is the possibility that we went too far. We did alienate ourselves from the ex-patriate community and, consequently, I was unable to carefully observe its lifestyle. Although it might have been worthwhile to do so, the information gained might have been less germane to the problem of this research than that which would have been lost, given the realities of race relations.

On an individual basis, as well as in the context of visits involving groups of ex-patriates, I was able to collect crucial data concerning attitudes toward Montserratians.

In general, and I am sure this has been the experience of many anthropologists, the data I collected were the product of knowing what to look for and what to ask for. On the other hand, it also was the result of a lot of luck, chance-encounters and constant improvisation. The experience of "doing fieldwork" was both rewarding, especially in the personal sense, and very frustrating. It was also humbling in the realization that the internalization of racist ideology can be transcended only to a limited extent.

The claims I have made in this work provide insights into the

dynamics of tourism in a colonial situation. While my conclusions are adequately supported by the data which I collected, they remain tentative and require further, and comparative, study.

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